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PAPERS AND PROCEEDINGS

NINETEENTH ANNUAL MEETING

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INTOLERANCE

CHARLES A. ELLWOOD

ABSTRACT

Intolerance.—Intolerance is in abundant evidence in every phase of American social life. The existence of a vast secret organization, numbering millions, which aims at the control of our social, political, and religious life is ample proof. Social science is far enough advanced to indicate the social results which we may expect from such intolerance. Progress is difficult if not impossible in an intolerant society. Intolerance breeds separation, misunderstanding, and hostility between groups. When groups have no opportunity to settle their disagreements by discussion, they are apt to resort to fighting. Intolerance therefore plays a leading part in fostering civic disorders, and especially in fostering revolution. "Repression is the seed of revolution." The particular repression which breeds revolution is the suppression of freedom in intercommunication; for the mechanism of intercommunication is the organ of adjustment for conscious social change. Present widespread intolerance threatens to bring on revolution. The remedy is the conversion of our people to the scientific attitude of mind.

Some of you, at least, know that I have long stood for a larger measure of good will in human relations than is expressed by the word "tolerance." But it may well be questioned whether in the present condition of our world it would not be wiser to advocate tolerance in our social life, as a first step, before any higher form of social good will is aimed at. Last year a public session of our Society was devoted to discussing the question of whether or not intolerance is increasing in the United States. While no definite conclusion was reached, all speakers seemed to agree that intolerance was in abundant evidence in almost every phase of American social life. One member of our Society, who had traveled far and wide over the United States to investigate the growth and ramifications of the Ku Klux Klan, sorrowfully said, "I think we must conclude that we are essentially an intolerant people."

I hope that we shall not be forced to reach any such conclusion. However, no student of our social life would deny that there has been, owing to the world-war or other causes, a great growth of many forms of intolerance among our people within the last two decades. In May, 1923, I talked with that veteran publisher, Mr. William

Appleton, whom many of you knew and respected. Mr. Appleton, then seventy-eight years of age, had been in intimate contact with public men and public affairs in both England and the United States for more than half a century. I chanced to ask him whether in his long life he had ever known a period of greater intolerance than the present. He thought a moment and then replied, "No, not even during and directly after our Civil War." Then he instanced how two textbooks in American history, written by eminent historical scholars, had recently been excluded from the public schools of New York City because they taught that the American Revolution was a part of the general democratic movement among English-speaking peoples.

Of course, the testimony of one man, no matter how wide his experience, amounts to little. But one meets this testimony regarding the intolerance of our time and country on every hand. A prominent public-school teacher from one of the large cities on our Pacific Coast has told me that the really able teachers of that city do not wish to be in the central office for the administration of its schools, because that office can propose nothing progressive in an educational way, especially in the way of social and political education, without being waited upon by representative business men protesting against any innovation. Apparently these business men believe that social and economic education of the children in the schools is fraught with danger.

Similar testimony of intolerance on the part of business men comes from the eminent Boston merchant, Mr. Edward A. Filene. In a recent article¹ Mr. Filene has said: "Over and over again, in organizations of business men, I have seen successful men turn against and label as dangerous one of their fellows who was only reasonably progressive. I have seen such men display an utter inability to distinguish between sane social advance and revolutionary socialism."

But the worst examples of intolerance are to be found, not in our business and industrial world, but in the religious world. The revival of religious bigotry and intolerance in American society is, indeed, one of the most startling and disturbing phenomena of our time.

¹ *Harper's Magazine*, December, 1923.

Twenty years ago many of us believed that religious intolerance was rapidly disappearing. The Fundamentalist and kindred movements in the religious world, however, have shown us that we were mistaken. During the past year one of my graduate students investigated the teaching of the social sciences in sixty-two colleges of a prominent Protestant denomination in our southern states. It is perhaps sufficient to say that he discovered that there was little freedom in these colleges, in the teaching of those sciences, when they were tolerated at all. Not only was the pressure of social, political, and economic orthodoxy in evidence, but religious orthodoxy practically forbade the teaching of organic evolution, and hence, of loyalty to modern science. It was with difficulty that these facts were gathered, because members of faculties were loath to talk about conditions in their institutions, and especially about the ban of the church on the teaching of evolution. One teacher, who at first refused to say anything, finally wrote as follows: "All right. This is a graveyard. We are *all* evolutionists. Isn't it awful? If any member of our faculty is not, I don't know it. Those whose subjects touch evolution are theistic evolutionists. . . . But we are not fools and do not have it served up to us in the classroom, except when the textbook expresses it." And he added despairingly: "When will this blind antagonism to Christian evolution die out? I hope that it is decreasing, but I fear not."

Surely this is the voice of a soul in prison, as truly as any that we find in the darkest ages of the world's history. Here is a man suffering for conscience's sake as clearly as did any of the heroes of the Renaissance or the Reformation. I am inclined to believe from the facts that have come to me that there are hundreds of such in the colleges of this country.

Nor is intolerance confined to denominational colleges. The evidence published by the American Association of University Professors shows that it is all too frequent in some of our largest and leading universities. Nor is intolerance simply manifested by those in positions of authority. It is sometimes shown by members of the faculty toward one another. It is even more, of course, to be found among the mass of the people who make up the constituency of the institution. Often what is taken to be the intolerance of authorities

is, upon investigation, found to be but their response to intolerant public sentiment. This is a matter which directly concerns all of us; not simply in a personal sense, but even more the development of the sciences in which we are interested. Some careful students find that the slow development of the social sciences in our institutions of learning is due, in the main, to a popular intolerance among our people, which is, at bottom, hostile to the scientific investigation of social, political, and economic questions.

If one wished detailed evidence for the existence of widespread popular intolerance at the present time, one would only have to study the rise and phenomenal growth of a vast secret order among us, said to number millions. For this organization, however lofty its pretensions, springs from racial, religious, and political intolerance, and in every community into which it is introduced it feeds intolerance. Here is an intolerant secret organization which aims at nothing less than the control of our political, economic, and religious life. It is unnecessary to say that its very existence is inconsistent with those professions of religious, political, and racial toleration upon which our government was founded.

It is often said in defense of all these manifestations of intolerance that science itself is intolerant; that when truth is discovered, we cannot tolerate error; that science does not tolerate the belief that two and two make five; that the era of toleration is prescientific, and is past or passing. But this is surely a mistake. One has to acknowledge sorrowfully, to be sure, that often men working in the scientific field have shown an extremely intolerant spirit toward views which differed from their own conclusions. But this is not the true spirit of science. On the contrary, the very essence of the scientific spirit is its open-mindedness, and so its tolerance. The scientific spirit is simply the open-minded love of truth. Science exercises no compulsion upon anyone to accept its conclusions, except the compulsion of honesty and intelligence. It simply assembles the evidence, the facts, and invites anyone to judge for himself. If any other conclusion is warranted by the facts, science is willing to accept it. Science exercises no authority to make anyone believe even that two and two are four. It simply points to the experience of life as forbidding any other conclusion. As Professor Wolfe has ably

shown,¹ the scientific mind is impersonal, skeptical, critical, tolerant, patient, and fearless in facing facts. It is unimpressed by social prestige or authority, or by social conventions. It is honest and disinterested. The popular mind, on the other hand, is credulous, uncritical, impatient, intolerant, fearful of intellectual changes, conventional, and controlled by personal interest. In other words, intolerance springs largely from ignorance and from the lack of a scientific attitude toward social questions.

But it is not my purpose to set forth the psychological causes of intolerance, nor do I wish even to affirm that it is increasing in the United States. It is rather my wish to inquire into the social effects of intolerance. Were our forefathers right in believing that political, economic, religious, and even racial toleration is necessary in a democratic society? Or were they simply under the spell of that worship of the individual, political, and religious liberty which characterized the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries? If we tolerate intolerance, in other words, in any of the important phases of our social life, what effects may we expect? Social science is surely far enough advanced to answer clearly this question.

I would like to point out at the beginning that the essence of social intolerance is to be found in the suppression of the free expression of opinions upon social, political, and economic questions. When people dare no longer communicate their opinions, when they fear to state their grievances, when they are not at liberty to educate one another by free and open discussion, then indeed we have the essence of intolerance; for freedom of thinking, of belief, and of communication is the very essence of personal freedom. Moreover, the studies of sociologists and social psychologists have conclusively demonstrated that the mechanism of intercommunication is the normal means by which a group readjusts its behavior. Through intercommunication it is possible for a stimulus which affects only a few members of the group to be diffused throughout the whole group. Therefore the mechanism of intercommunication in a group functions very much the same as the nervous system functions in the individual. It is an organ of adaptation. If its free working is interfered with, normal readjustment is rendered difficult, if not

¹ *Conservatism, Radicalism, and Scientific Method*, pp. 222 ff.

impossible. Freedom of intercommunication is not therefore so much an individual right as a necessity for a healthy group life; or rather, it is a precious individual right, precisely because it is a necessity for normal social life.

That we may see that this is no mere analogy, let us outline in a few words how intercommunication works to mediate and control the process of readjustment in a human group. Public criticism is a process of discrimination of whatever is wrong or whatever is unadjusted in the habits of a group. In other words, public criticism marks the bad working of some social custom or institution. It discriminates the elements which are working badly, and these discriminations are communicated to the whole group for its judgment. Discussion of the situation then develops in the group. At first this discussion is of a critical nature, but later the discussion, if allowed to proceed freely, normally takes a constructive direction. In the discussion many ideas come into competition and are tested out. Wrong ideas have their weaknesses shown, new ideas are stimulated, the useful, as well as the detrimental, elements in the old situation are discriminated, and gradually constructive views get formulated and new policies approved. Thus we have the formation of a group opinion which becomes the basis for a new adjustment in group behavior.

This is the mechanism of conscious social change under normal conditions in a human group. It has characterized all human groups from primitive times, and is slowly perfecting itself at the present time. Probably the chief argument for democracy is that it frees and develops this process of conscious social change through the development of a social consciousness and a public opinion in the whole group. Obviously freedom of intercommunication is fundamental in this process.

If the process of public discussion is to be effective in helping groups to find solutions for their problems, freedom of thought and freedom of speech must be preserved. Where public criticism of social habits and institutions is not tolerated it is evident that their faults cannot be brought to the attention of the group. Tolerance of criticism is therefore the first condition of conscious social change, or rational social adjustment. It is only through such tolerance that

there can be in a group the greatest opportunity for the co-operative working of intelligence in the building up of habits, institutions, and policies. Only thus can grievances of individuals and classes be brought to public attention and the richest results of experience brought to bear upon a given social situation. Only thus, accordingly, is there the greatest chance of a wise and rational solution of public problems. It is not an accident, therefore, that those civilized societies which have maintained the best conditions for free intercommunication, free public discussion, and free formation of public opinion have been, on the whole, most progressive, and have shown the most normal, uninterrupted social development. In other words, those societies which have been most tolerant, politically, religiously, industrially, have shown, so far as can be judged by rational standards, the most normal social development.

Let us now look upon the other side, and notice the effects of intolerance of public criticism and of free discussion of public questions upon the life of a group. We shall pass over its effects upon individual character. Suffice to say that it is notorious that an intolerant social atmosphere produces sycophancy, hypocrisy, moral cowardice, and other undesirable traits of character in individuals; for in such an atmosphere the individual cannot remain true to his conscience, intellectually honest, and sincere, but in order to prosper has to become a mere conformist to the order which surrounds him. With these individual effects of social intolerance, however, we are not now concerned, but only with its larger social aspects.

First of all, we have to note that there is little chance for progress in an intolerant group. Progress or change in such a group can only come through the grace of its governing class; and usually a governing class is interested in maintaining conditions as they are. Therefore, a static condition of society is apt to result. But to understand exactly why this is so, let us look at this matter a little more closely. All changes in a human group, so far as we know, are initiated by variations in the reactions of individuals. In other words, changes start in human groups with variations in feeling, thought, and behavior of individuals. Some of these variations may, of course, be harmful to the group, and for that matter, to the development of the social life of humanity. But when all innovation along a given line tends to

be repressed, there is no way of testing out whether the variation is a useful one or not. The experience of mankind has shown, therefore, that the variant individual should be regarded with tolerance by his group; for only the rational consideration of his innovations by the whole group can test out their value. Moreover, modern societies have found that unlikeness in individuals is frequently as valuable as likeness for purposes of division of labor, group organization, and group action. Too great uniformity in individual character, opinion, and behavior is, therefore, not desirable in a civilized society. Moreover, sociologists would agree that the limits of differences which are socially valuable, and so should be tolerated, are much greater than what the popular mind supposes. For these reasons a society which does not tolerate freedom of thought and freedom of expression in individuals is bound not only to become static, but to lessen its efficiency as a group in a number of directions. The surest way to promote social progress, in other words, is to keep social institutions plastic by encouraging within reasonable limits the innovating individual, by keeping open the channels of intercommunication and of public criticism, and by seeing that every new idea and policy has a fair chance to be tested out in the forum of public discussion. On the other hand, the surest way to stop all social progress and insure a static civilization is to discourage the innovating individual, to frown upon public criticism of established institutions, and to close, so far as possible, channels for the spread of new ideas. That the world has approximated this static condition in various times and places the history of the Middle Ages in Europe and of Asiatic civilizations abundantly attests.

Another result of social intolerance is that it tends to divide a group into misunderstanding, hostile classes. Intolerance of any sort bars the way to that sympathetic understanding of individuals and classes which is the first step toward appreciation, socialization, and voluntary co-operation. If we want to assimilate any element into our group, as, for example, the foreign-born, we must maintain an attitude of tolerance toward them; for any intolerance shown them is almost certain to create in them attitudes which will hinder their assimilation. Moreover, intolerance keeps individuals and classes apart and breeds misunderstanding between them. They

have no opportunity to talk over their differences, and when men cannot settle their differences by discussion, they are apt to resort to fighting. Intolerance, in other words, tends to breed war within the group and, ultimately, group disruption. I shall return to this point again when I consider the cause of the great civil disorders of our time.

Another result of an intolerant social atmosphere is the effect which it has upon those who are in charge of the machinery of social control of the group, that is, upon officials in church, in state, and in industry. Such officials reflect, often in an exaggerated way, the intolerant spirit of the group which they represent. They become apprehensive and frightened at the least failure of individuals to conform to the standards which have been set up; hence they inaugurate a policy of repression, which, sooner or later, arouses resentment and resistance in some part of the group. By repression I mean any policy which constantly thwarts the expression of natural impulses and tendencies on the part of individuals. If such thwarting seems natural and inevitable, as when caused by hard conditions of life, by famine, or by public calamity, it is usually endured by the people with patience. This may be true even under a governmental system, which is strongly supported by a tradition that is regarded as more or less sacred, especially when there is comparatively little popular enlightenment. But when institutional repression is conceived of as arbitrary or unnecessary, it arouses resentment and resistance, and in certain elements of the group the attitude of resistance develops until finally the supreme end of life becomes, for these elements, the doing away with the repression. It is in this way that societies often make enemies for themselves. This is especially apt to be the case if expressions against the repressing institution and statements of grievances are not tolerated.

We are now prepared to see the full social effects of intolerance in a dynamic society, such as ours is. As Professor Wolfe has said in effect,¹ in a static society intolerance and a policy of repression may result merely in submissive conformity, but "in a dynamic state no such policy of suppression can succeed. In the long run it will produce catastrophic revolution in the place of evolutionary readap-

¹ *Conservatism, Radicalism, and Scientific Method*, p. 142.

tation." In other words, in a dynamic society intolerance which results in a policy of repression, if long continued, produces revolution. The reasons for this are clear. A dynamic society is one necessarily in constant readjustment with its environment. The law of its life is change. Such changes, however, as we have seen, can take place only through the initiative of individuals, through free communication of stimuli and ideas throughout the group, and through the free formation of a new group opinion. If the expression of ideas on the part of the individuals in this process is repressed, the machinery of social readjustment is interfered with, and the whole group is apt to be thrown out of equilibrium. While the dissatisfaction at first may be confined to a few individuals, it is bound, sooner or later, to spread to the mass of the group. A policy of repression, in other words, in a dynamic group, destroys the plasticity of the group, and so destroys the basis of its security.

This theory of the origin of social revolutions was perhaps never better expressed than when President Wilson said in one of his public addresses, "Repression is the seed of revolution." It is not too much to say that this pregnant phrase nearly expresses the modern psychological and sociological view. All scientific psychological study of the effects of repression upon the individual has substantiated this theory. Nevertheless, this "repression theory of revolutions,"^{*} as we may call it, has not received widespread acceptance, probably because it seems to throw the burden of responsibility for causing revolutions upon the conservative and ruling classes. The spokesmen of these classes have often said, on the other hand, that revolutions are caused by the false hopes that are awakened among the masses by Utopian thinkers, who present impossible social ideals. Because of these ideals, people become discontented, and this discontent with existing institutions is gradually diffused among the ignorant masses through the force of suggestion and imitation until at last these ignorant masses develop an attitude of revolt. They cite as an example the Russian revolution. It will be noted that this theory assumes that the mass of the people are irrational, and may be made discontented by agitators merely by suggestion and

^{*} This theory was outlined by the writer in his *Sociology in Its Psychological Aspects* (1912), pp. 163-73, and in his *Introduction to Social Psychology* (1917), pp. 170-83.

imitation when they have no rational ground for discontent. The theory assumes a force to suggestion and imitation in the social life which critical psychology and sociology do not find that they possess. While it is true that the mass of men have no highly developed rationality, yet on the other hand, men are inert creatures of habit, and rarely manifest discontent, especially in the extreme form of the attitude of revolt, without considerable cause. We have no evidence which warrants the belief that masses of men get discontented over vain imaginings, or can be easily stampeded by suggestions which are not in line with the situation in which they find themselves. Men rarely undertake civil war between classes, any more than war between nations, without considerable incitement to conflict; in other words, without serious grievances. Utopian and radical thinkers do not cause revolutions, but rather voice discontent which already exists. They may further revolutionary movements, but they do not cause them. Such movements are caused by the discontent which naturally arises from the thwarting of human impulses and desires. In other words, the real cause or stimulus which provokes the revolution must be sought always in the system of social control. When that system is immobile, inflexible, and especially when it becomes repressive of free expression on the part of individuals—that is, when it interferes with the free functioning of the process of intercommunication, of group discussion, with the formation of group opinion, and the determination of group policies—it is bound sooner or later to bring about dissatisfaction and revolt in the masses of the people.

All this is clearly illustrated by the case of Russia. So far from the Russian revolution being the work of agitators and of Utopian idealists, the studies of President Masaryk, of Professor Ross, and of many other careful students have shown conclusively that it originated in policies of repression which had continued for over a century. The Russian revolution was destructive and terrible just because the repressions which had preceded it were severe and prolonged. The French Revolution also illustrates, not less clearly, the part which repression plays in causing social explosions. But it would be a mistake to think that such repression and interference with normal social change is always the work of a governing class,

or of a small selfish minority. On the contrary, it may sometimes be the work of an intolerant majority. The history of our own country illustrates this. Early in the nineteenth century there was still hope in the United States that the slavery question might be settled peaceably by discussion and by rational public opinion. But after 1830 popular sentiment in our South became intolerant of criticism of the institution of slavery, opposing public discussion of the institution in any way. The result was that the institution remained relatively unchanged, until the Civil War—a war essentially revolutionary in character—swept the institution away. Intolerant public sentiments and beliefs may give rise, therefore, to policies of repression, and to inflexibility in habits and institutions which may stop normal social development and pave the way to later social disaster. It is perhaps well to remember here that “class interest,” both of privileged and unprivileged classes, on account of the tendency of all groups to group egoism, is liable to give rise to intolerance and to attempts to suppress public criticism of class policies and actions whenever it can. Back of this mistaken policy, of course, stands the attitude of intolerance. Social experience seems to show that if those in power, whether they represent a minority or a majority, will seek to keep open the means of understanding and sympathy between classes; if they will keep untrammelled public criticism and discussion of public policies, and all the means of forming rational public opinion and of selecting authorities to carry out the same, there will be little danger of catastrophic revolution being resorted to in any social group.

I have now given my answer to the question as to whether our forefathers were right in believing that political, religious, economic, and racial toleration is necessary in a democratic society. As one of our most careful thinkers on social theory has said,¹ in a democratic society “it is probably unlikely, taking everything into consideration, that the quality of tolerance will ever be excessive.” All social experience goes to show that a democratic society can have no safety without tolerance; for, as I have already said, when men cannot settle their differences by peaceful discussion, they are apt to resort to fighting. It has been the pride of English-speaking peoples,

¹ Balz, *The Basis of Social Theory*, p. 243.

from the days of *Magna Charta* to the present, that they have learned to settle their social and political questions by discussion rather than by fighting. But there seems just at present some danger that this great tradition of our democracy may be forgotten. We seem about to lose our faith in open public discussion as a means of settling social, political, and economic disputes. Not only in Europe, but in the United States also, there is evidence of a trend toward thinking that public questions can be settled by force or coercion. Hence, in spite of the fact that modern psychology unites with social science in demonstrating the futility and danger of this method, there has been a growth of popular intolerance which favors repression and coercion as a means of settling problems.

What is the remedy? The one radical remedy for the spirit of intolerance and the dangers with which it threatens us, as Professor Wolfe points out, is the conversion of our people to the scientific attitude. Nothing short of the diffusion of the scientific attitude can free our people from that control by selfish personal and class interests which renders them intolerant toward new ideas and toward every proposed change. The impersonal open-mindedness and intellectual honesty of the scientific spirit is absolutely necessary for a people who undertake to rule themselves through rational public opinion. If we still find evidence at times of a spirit of intolerance among those who profess the scientific attitude, it must be said that this is because they have acquired it only in part, and not toward every phase of life.

It must be acknowledged, however, that tolerance helps the development of the scientific spirit quite as much as the scientific spirit develops tolerance. "What makes a Liberal," Professor Gilbert Murray has said, "is liberality toward new ideas and toward opponents, readiness to hear reason, and anxiety not to be misled by prejudice, nor to fall back on mere authority or coercion. Surely such liberalism is a long step toward the scientific attitude. The alliance of liberalism and science is, therefore, not an accident. Science, no more than democracy, can afford to tolerate intolerance.

As scientific men, as well as patriotic citizens, we have every reason to oppose intolerance, and to do all we can to promote tolerance. Hardly any of us, I imagine, would deny that the supreme

values of human life lie in intelligence, in good will toward our fellow-men, and in the good will of others toward us. Intolerance means the negation of all of these values. Tolerance, on the other hand, furthers their realization. We all recognize that tolerance is a means of developing a broader emotional life. Should we not equally recognize that it is indispensable for the development of a truly broad intellectual life, and so for the spread of that scientific attitude among our people which must be the hope of the future?

PSYCHOLOGY AND CULTURE

ALEXANDER GOLDENWEISER

The New School for Social Research

ABSTRACT

Psychology and culture.—All culture, in the last analysis, emanates from the individual, but the individual psyche itself owes its content to culture. This apparent paradox has led some to exaggerate the significance of the individual, others, that of culture. Both must be taken cognizance of in any fair analysis of culture. *The individual and society.*—Man is the sensory factor in society, society is made possible by individuals; but the problem of the relation of the individual to society is not a fictitious one. It is, in fact, a complex problem allowing of many solutions and presenting new fields for investigation. Social situations can be arranged in a series representing levels of socialization, the highest level being represented by a crowd, in the narrow sense, the lowest by a student engaged in the study of an abstract subject. *Psychology and culture from the methodological standpoint.*—"Psychic unity" is imbedded in the original nature of man. From this spring cultural features of universal distribution, which can be interpreted psychologically. When the features are general but not universal, both historical and psychological interpretations remain possible, but the separation of the two often presents insuperable difficulties. Local features can only be interpreted historically. Historical explanations do not preclude psychology. There is reality in such concepts as the primitive mind or the German mind which, however, rest in history, not in biology. The modern cultural situation is a laboratory for the study of both the individual and culture. The perplexities of the semi-detached individual reveal aspects of the original nature, the difficulties of a hard-pressed culture make possible new insight into the nature of culture.

The purpose of this paper is to present in a brief formulation the relations between psychological facts and cultural facts, the approach being analytical as well as methodological.

I. THE MOST GENERAL RELATION BETWEEN PSYCHOLOGY AND CULTURE

To a superficial view the relation between the individual psyche and culture seems paradoxical; on the one hand, culture springs from the individual psyche, on the other, the individual psyche itself is determined by culture.

If this proposition is expanded, the paradox disappears. If culture could be analyzed retrospectively every element of it would be found to have had its beginning in the creative act of an individual psyche. There is, of course, no other source for culture to come from,

for what culture is made of is but the raw stuff of experience, whether material or spiritual, transformed into culture by the creativeness of man.¹ An analysis of culture, if fully carried out, leads back to the individual psyche.

The content of any particular psyche, on the other hand, comes from culture. No individual or group of individuals can ever originate their culture—it comes to them from without, in the process of education.

In its constituent elements culture is psychological and, in the last analysis, comes from the individual. But as an integral entity, culture is cumulative, historical, extra-individual. It comes to the individual as part of his objective experience, just as do his experiences with nature and, like these, it is absorbed by him, thus becoming part of his psychic content.

This double relationship between culture and psychology has led to two opposite tendencies in the interpretation of cultural phenomena.

If culture is psychological in essence and individual in origin, it was argued, it should be possible to furnish an individual psychological interpretation of culture, at any given time and place, without leaving any residue. The "great men" theorists of history often fell into this error, as did almost all systems of psychology, from the subjective analytical attempts of the classical associationists to the semi-experimental folk-psychologists of the Wundtian variety, and to the modern psychoanalysts. The evolutionary anthropologists and sociologists were similarly at fault when they represented the culture of this or that tribe as determined by its psychological make-up.

To the same category belongs a recent work on social psychology, in which the claim is made that all "explanations" (as distinguished from descriptions) in culture must rest in the individual, that the "causes" for cultural change can only be found in individuals.

All of these ideologies fail to do justice to the cumulative aspect of culture; they ignore the fact that the individual or individuals of a group are ever at the mercy of the precedents, patterns, styles, fashions of culture. Nor do they pay due heed to the fact that in the life of every people historical factors come into play which, from the

¹ A branch is a bit of the physical environment. A branch used as a club is culture.

standpoint of that particular culture, must be classed as accidental. The classical examples of this are, of course, borrowed cultural features which come from other tribes and cultures. These features are patently independent, not alone of the psychology of the recipient group, but also of its culture.

In sharp contrast to the preceding stand all those theorists who stress the historical and superindividual aspect of culture at the expense of individual and psychological factors. They assume that culture is wholly an objective, extra-individual entity, specific unto itself in nature and behavior, which imposes itself upon individuals who, at best, can only be said to reflect it.

Among the evolutionists, the economic interpreters of history, comprising Marx and his followers, represent this point of view. To them culture is objective, social, historical, cumulative, dynamic, deterministic. To culture the chariot of history is harnessed. The individual is fleeting, passive, epi-phenomenal, causally irrelevant. He is sitting in the chariot spinning highfaluting theories about its progress while culture drives on. Here also belong the modern institutional anthropologists and sociologists, although their fervor is less irrational and unreal.

Those who think in this fashion do scant justice to the active participation of the individual in cultural growth. For while it is certainly true that the cultural content comes to the individual in a way that is external and objective, the individual does, after all, recreate what he receives. He does so unconsciously by dint of the very variability of his native endowment, as well as consciously in the overt acts of psychic originality.

Even apart from this, however, the individual cannot be explained away by culture, for his psychic content is the result of what might be called biographical selection. The specific cultural content which comes to the psyche is not the only thing that counts. There is also the chronological order of the coming, as well as the emotional setting in which each element of experience is received.¹ It is this difference in the order and the apperceptive conditions which constitutes a large part of what we call individual differences. If this

¹ By way of illustration, compare two individuals familiar with strikes and economic theory, but one lived through a strike first then studied economics, the other did the reverse.

were not so, individuals of approximately equal native endowment and similar cultural setting would also be similar when clothed in their cultural garb, whereas as a matter of fact, the opposite is obviously true.

And finally, however objective and extraneous to the individual culture may be, it must after all be remembered that it ceases to count, unless it be potentially, as soon as the psychic channels through which it can be communicated are removed. Culture, whether spiritual or material, counts only to the extent to which it is operative through psychic channels. Cultural features that are neither intellectually nor practically used nor aesthetically appreciated, nor are even known to exist, do actually not exist, as culture, except potentially.¹ They thus become equivalent to the passive elements of the physical environment, such as metallic ores in the Stone Age, which, although objectively present, are yet culturally impotent because they are not reacted to or otherwise made use of.

II. THE MOST GENERAL RELATION OF THE INDIVIDUAL TO SOCIETY

Man, being part of culture, is also part of society, the carrier of culture. This circumstance has also led to an apparently paradoxical situation which gave rise to three different ideological solutions. Some held that man being the locus of sensory life was therefore the measure of all things, and that society was nothing but a grouping of individuals. All interpretations of social phenomena must therefore be sought in the processes of the individual psyche.

Others insisted that man came into the world a social animal; that all there was to him was social; that man the individual was an abstraction; and that all social as well as individual phenomena had therefore to be interpreted in social terms. Still others pointed out that the whole question was a fictitious one, was what the Germans call a *Scheinproblem*, a "pseudo-problem," that the individual was society and society the individual, and that the very attempt to juxtapose the two was a bit of abstractionist futility.

All three approaches can be shown to be erroneous. It is true

¹ Such may be the fate of the Bible in some modern communities or, in others, of a Wagnerian opera.

enough that man is the locus of psychic life and therefore represents what may be called the sensory level of social phenomena. At the same time, social determinants implied, for example, in motor habits or language, creep into the individual psyche surreptitiously and unconsciously. To disentangle the "pure" individual psyche from their meshes seems well-nigh impossible. Also, the effectiveness of some individuals as social factors of necessity molds and determines other individuals, so that the very significance and conspicuousness of some persons brings with it the passivity and relative nonimportance of others.

Again, the extreme social determinists err in so far as they unduly simplify the realm of social forces faced by the individual. As a matter of fact this realm is highly complex, consisting of many in part contradictory social influences, some of which reinforce each other while others cancel out, allowing for the occasional emergence of the relatively detached or desocialized individual.¹

Those, finally, who deny the very existence of the problem of the relation of the individual to society are once more guilty of an abstractionist simplification. This relation is not a problem only in the sense that it is many problems, for the relation of the individual to the social varies both with the social situation and with the character and state of the individual.

This reflection brings us to our next topic.

III. LEVELS IN THE RELATIONS OF THE INDIVIDUAL TO SOCIETY

Among the bonds that tie the individual to the group, some are complex, others simple, some categoric, others loose. This can be demonstrated by analyzing one of the simplest forms of social situation, namely, a crowd consisting of relatively like-minded individuals in physical or immediate contact and subjected to a common stimulus. In this case the psychic content and the resulting reac-

¹ Perhaps the most significant contrast between modern and primitive communities lies in this domain. Relatively speaking, the social forces or pressures in primitive society work uniformly, so as to affect all, and along parallel lines, as it were; while in modern society, owing to the multiplication of social subgroupings and the specialization of functions, these social forces or pressures constitute a complicated and intertwining network. As a result the individual is at times bewildered, but he may also slip through the meshes unscathed and relatively desocialized.

tions of the individuals constituting the crowd are so uniform that the crowd does indeed appear but as a magnified individual and the individual but as a reflection of the crowd. For this reason also, while the crowd does not possess an existential soul of its own, it acts as if it had one, and if, indeed, it were assumed that it did, our interpretation of the crowd would not be modified thereby. On the other hand, an inspection of the individual psyche as revealed in crowd phenomena makes possible a fine insight into the cruder aspects of the original nature of man, for all that is truly individual and specific, such as the higher intellectual and spiritual functions, are for the time being in abeyance.¹

At the other extreme is the lone thinker solving an intellectual problem in an abstract subject—the theory of numbers, for example. To him the social world is but an academic assumption the presence or absence of which in no way affects the task in which he is concerned.

Between these two extremes lies a vast series of levels of socialization which allow of more careful conceptualization and more deliberate study than have heretofore been accorded them.²

¹ The reason for the oft-observed phenomenon that the individual in a crowd is, as it were, pulled down to a lower level of biological life is, of course, to be sought in the fact that the emotional and instinctive factors are much older and basic in our make-up and constitute for that reason the common denominator in any group of individuals. If we were to assume, for argument's sake, that man is basically *sapiens*, that the intellectual elements are genetically older, and that they were in later evolutionary stages relatively thinly overlaid with irrational and emotional elements, then a crowd made up of such individuals would indeed create an intellectual superman. It would then think with its head, not its "bowels."

I may add, in passing, that the above remarks are not calculated to dispose of high minded crowds. This occurs when an idealistic cue is given to a crowd under favorable apperceptive conditions. Instance: an appeal for funds in war time.

² Samples of such levels may be discerned in the following situations: a crowd in the narrowest sense, comprising like-minded persons in intimate contact and subjected to a common emotional stimulus; a crowd of less homogeneous consistency, or one subjected to a less powerful stimulus; then a crowd in a wider sense, such as the readers of the *New York Times* or the *Dearborn Independent*, when subjected to a "typical" editorial; then a group of individuals in the seclusion of their respective universities engaged in the study of the social sciences, who, while relatively detached, are yet subject to a variety of irrational determinants; and finally, students of mathematics or celestial mechanics, each isolated not only physically but conceptually, alone, unemotional, detached, desocialized, *homo sapiens* par excellence.

IV. PSYCHOLOGY AND CULTURE, FROM THE METHODOLOGICAL STANDPOINT

The psychic unity of mankind lies, first of all, in the realm of the original nature of man. In the present state of psychological (or shall we say biological?) knowledge, we may be able to discern but dimly the outlines of this original nature. It is certain, nevertheless, that the major range of psychic unity springs from this source. The sensory qualities of man, his amenability to the gastric, sexual, and propagatory urges, his gregariousness and sociability, his pugnacity and playfulness, his inventiveness and inertia, his limited but withal marvelous capacity to "think straight," his love of work and enjoyment of virtuosity, his vanity and love of power, and any number of other traits, are certainly lodged in the original nature of man, either actually or potentially (whatever this may be). For this reason man everywhere, at all times and in all cultural stages, is so much the same. This is psychic unity. This also is the domain of psychology. Bastian may have been exasperatingly vague in his treatment of the *Elementargedanken*, but at bottom he was right, for his "elemental ideas" of mankind is but another name for psychic unity.

Psychic unity expresses itself in cultural features of universal distribution. Universal features can be interpreted psychologically. Take the belief in spirits and magic. Psychologists of different schools have tackled it—the associationists, the folk-psychologists, the psychoanalysts—and each group has contributed valuable bits of interpretation.

Features that are general but not universal constitute a more difficult problem. Take, for instance, the clan, or the mother-in-law taboo, or secret societies. All are common, none universal. Does this mean that psychology must be discarded and history applied if an explanation is to be sought? Not necessarily. There may be, in fact, there are, perfectly good psychological or socio-psychological reasons for all three, but such reasons are not always categorical; they may constitute a trend, a tendency, without being an imperative. Whenever such situations occur where psychological and historical factors are blended, the methodological difficulties are, of course, tremendous, and if psychological interpretations are at all applied, they are usually doomed to remain hypothetical.

Thus we finally reach cases where the features to be explained are in a true sense peculiarities which occur only in a particular tribe, district, nation. Cultural traits of this sort cannot be explained psychologically—here history claims its own. All we can say is that under no cultural conditions can features appear which would contradict psychology, but the specific features that do appear can only be accounted for historically.

V. HISTORICAL EXPLANATIONS AND PSYCHOLOGY

In view of the above considerations it is often assumed that historical explanations preclude psychology. This is erroneous. To illustrate: Modern culture differs from primitive culture, one primitive culture differs from another, a modern national culture, that of France, differs from another, that of Germany. The explanation for all this is historical. So much being granted, there is still ample room for psychological illumination. The differentia of modern and primitive culture are determined by history, this gives the background for what may be called the modern mind and the primitive mind; these in turn may be used as a basis for psychological interpretations. In other words, there is such a thing as the "primitive mind," just as there is a French mind and a German mind, even though the explanation for such "minds" must be sought in history, not in biology.¹

VI. INDIVIDUAL-PSYCHOLOGICAL AND CULTURAL ANALYSIS AS HEURISTIC TOOLS

In conclusion, a word about individual analysis and cultural study as tools in the ever fascinating quest of penetrating more

¹ This may be illustrated by the application of two concepts recently introduced by psychoanalysts: introversion and extraversion. Introverts are those who solve their problems and adjustments to the world in subjective terms, extraverts, those whose terms are objective or conventional. Some psychoanalysts extend the use of these concepts from individuals to societies or nations; they speak of an introverted Germany, an extraverted England or America. Now this cannot mean that there are more extraverts born in England or America, more introverts in Germany. Nevertheless, the terms introverted or extraverted nation may not be absurd. In an introverted nation, introversion is at a premium, therefore born extraverts will be driven into introvert compensation; in an extravert nation the reverse will be true. An introvert or extravert nation may be the product of a purely historic process, but, as introvert or extravert, it has a typical psychic orientation. The rest follows. (The possibility that the concepts "introvert" and "extravert" may be invalid or imperfectly circumscribed need not concern us here.)

deeply into the nature of the individual psyche and into the essence of culture. Here, the present cultural situation is our laboratory.

We are told that the burden of culture is becoming too much for the individual, that the ever increasing complexity of culture combined with the modern urge for self-expression and personal freedom create a psychological quagmire, impassable for the average human. Hence, an increase in criminality, suicides, neuroses. At this point psychoanalysis steps in and, out of its intensive explorations of the struggle of original nature against the impositions of culture, there emerges fresh illumination of the very kernel of original nature. Whatever may be said in criticism of Freudian and other such mechanisms, the fact remains that we know more today about the urge of sex, about repressions, conflicts, compensations, and sublimations than we did yesterday, and we hope for even a richer harvest tomorrow. Original nature on the warpath proves a fertile field for psychological exploration.

And there is a parallel situation in culture. While the individual remained subdued by institutional norms, the double task of culture of preserving the old and ushering in the new seemed to take care of itself smoothly enough. Now comes the call for a revaluation of values. Less of the old—more of the new; less inertia—more progress; less institutionalism—more creative individualism; less cultural norm—more personal self-expression. Under the stress and strain of these new demands culture itself is developing a complex. Should it give way, who will be the healer? To the thinker, meanwhile, new vistas are opened toward a deeper understanding of the nature of culture. How much mobility will it stand? What methods could be employed to increase its plasticity? Will the new recipe for culture be an improvement upon the old? Thus cultural rebirth may furnish clinical data to the social pathologist.

CULTURE AND CULTURAL TRENDS

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ABSTRACT

Culture and Cultural Trends.—Cultural traits fall into (a) *form*, those which are external and visible as arts, ceremonial, and tools; and (b) *content*, those which are deep and inaccessible as memories, tradition, and unorganized social experience. Similar to the distinction between form and content is the contrast between technique and mores. Folkways, which with preliterate people are practically identical with mores, under reflection and experimentation lose their institutional character and become technique. Just as culture emphasizes the mores, civilization tends to be applied to what is general and rational in culture, that is, to technique. The harmony between the ideal and the material aspects of culture is far more characteristic of a society like that of the Eskimo than of modern metropolitan life, because changes in our material culture are moving at a tempo with which our ideals and our institutions are not able to keep pace. Cultural trends are those changes taking place in the mores, in law, in public opinion, and in philosophy in the struggle to bring these into harmonious relations with social conditions.

I. CULTURE AS FORM AND AS CONTENT

In a paper published in 1911 in *Nature*, W. H. Rivers sought to distinguish between those elements of culture which are embodied in external, visible, and tangible objects, and those other less obvious, less formal aspects of culture which he called "social structure."

I shall not attempt to define social structure as Rivers uses the term. The conception is, at best, a dubious one. Interesting and important, however, is the distinction he has tried to make between elements or aspects of a culture which may be transmitted, as he says, by mere contact, and those other cultural complexes which remain in the background of the folk mind, invisible but active, coloring and modifying the overt behavior of the people of whom they are, perhaps, a forgotten heritage.

We find in Oceania . . . people wearing European clothes and European ornaments, using European utensils, and even European weapons when they fight; we find them holding the beliefs and practicing the ritual of a European religion; we find them speaking a European language, often even among themselves, and yet investigation shows that much of their social structure remains thoroughly native and uninfluenced, not only in its general form, but often even

in its minute details. The external influence has swept away the whole material culture, so that objects of native origin are manufactured only to sell to tourists; it has substituted a wholly new religion and destroyed every material, if not every moral, vestige of the old; it has caused great modification and degeneration of the old language; and yet it may have left the social structure in the main untouched. And the reasons for this are clear. Most of the essential social structure of a people lies so below the surface it is so literally the foundation of the whole life of the people, that it is not seen; it is not obvious, but can only be reached by patient and laborious exploration.¹

It is always easier to transmit our language than our ideas. It is less difficult to inculcate the forms of a religious cult than it is to translate the religious experiences in which these religious practices originated. It is easier to sell a sewing machine in China than to establish a parliamentary form of government. It is easier, in short, to introduce among any people tools or technical devices the usefulness of which is obvious than to transplant an alien institution which has had a history and embodies in its motives and its structure the accumulated experience of successive generations.

The most striking illustration of the sudden and successful adoption of an alien culture is Japan. And yet those observers who have had an opportunity to know Japan intimately assure us that as yet European culture has merely changed the exterior of Japanese life. Japan has taken over the science, the technique, and many of the external forms of European culture, but is, perhaps, less disposed today than it was sixty years ago to adopt the mores of the occidental world.

The adoption of Western civilization was not nearly such an easy matter as unthinking persons imagined. And it is quite evident that the mental readjustments, effected at a cost which remains to be told, have given good results only along directions in which the race has always shown capacities of special kinds. Thus, the appliances of Western industrial invention have worked admirably in Japanese hands, have produced excellent results in those crafts at which the nation had been skilful, in other and quainter ways, for ages. There has been no transformation—nothing more than the turning of old abilities into new and larger channels.²

In one limited sense, Western art has influenced Japanese literature and drama; but the character of the influence proves the racial differences to which I

¹ W. H. R. Rivers, "The Ethnological Analysis of Culture," in *Nature*, LXXXVII (1911), 358-60.

² Lafcadio Hearn, *Kokoro* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1896), pp. 9-10.

refer. European plays have been reshaped for the Japanese stage, and European novels rewritten for Japanese readers. But a literal version is rarely attempted, for the original incidents, thoughts, and emotions would be unintelligible to the average reader or playgoer. Plots are adopted, sentiments and incidents are totally transformed. "The New Magdalen" becomes a Japanese girl who married an Eta. Victor Hugo's *Les Misérables* becomes a tale of the Japanese civil war, and Enjolras a Japanese student. There have been a few rare exceptions, including the marked success of a literal translation of the *Sorrows of Werther*.¹

This does not mean that changes in Japanese life are not profound. It does mean that the Japanese *ethos*, rooted in temperament and reinforced by tradition, will, like any other living organism, persist, using the changed conditions to further and fortify its continued existence in a changed environment. The external adventitious elements of its culture will change first and change more rapidly. What Rivers calls the structure of Japanese national life will change also, but more slowly.

The contrast which Rivers draws between the changing, superficial aspect of culture and its relatively unchanging core, seems to reduce itself finally to the contrast between form and content. Those traits which are external and visible are form; those which are deep and inaccessible are content. We know what the external aspects of a culture are: they are its arts, its ceremonial, and its tools. But what of the content; in what, precisely, does this thing we call content consist? It consists, apparently, in memories, that is to say, in tradition; in a relatively unorganized social experience; something which is, at any rate, less structure than will.²

Rivers' discussion of blended cultures is concerned with the processes by which cultural traits are transmitted horizontally from one cultural group to another. But cultures are transmitted vertically from one generation to another in the same cultural group. The process is probably much the same, but the results are different. Children seem to take over intuitively and without resistance just those elements of a foreign culture which an adult alien finds most

¹ Lafcadio Hearn, *Kokoro* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1896), pp. 10-11.

² This will is probably related to the *libido* of the psychoanalyst and to the *elan vitale* of Bergson. It is anything you please, so long as the term is used to describe a fact, and is more than the name of a mystical and metaphysical entity.

difficult to understand and assimilate. Children do not inherit the cultural complexes of their parents, and when children of immigrants grow up in the country of their adoption they inevitably take over all the accents, the inflections, the local cultural idioms of the native population. This is true of the Chinese in America, even though they are reared—as most of them are—in a ghetto. Most of the native sons among the Chinese in California are outrageously American in their manners and in their sentiments. It is only in later life, if at all, that they revert to the ancestral tradition and acquire a secondary racial loyalty.

If it turns out—as it frequently does—that the culture of the second generation seems a little thin and superficial as compared with that of the first, it is due, no doubt, to the fact that this second generation, having lost or abandoned the older cultural heritages, is not quite in possession of the new. In the long run this undoubtedly affects American life as a whole. It manifests itself, I suspect, in the proverbial restlessness of the American; in the extraordinary extent of family disorganization, i.e., divorce, desertion, as well as in the amount of juvenile delinquency and crime.

For this and other reasons, the distinction between the form and the content of cultures, which Rivers found useful in his studies of his primitive folk, is even more important in the study of conflicts and fusions of racial and national cultures in our cosmopolitan and contemporary life.

The significant thing about the whole matter is that, with the fusion and blending of culture, form and content tend to fall apart, and gain each a more or less independent existence. The significance of this will appear later, when we come to define the changes we have called trends.

II. TECHNIQUE AND THE MORES

The distinction between form and content, as applied to the analysis of cultures, has a parallel and an analogy in the contrast between technique and the mores.

Among primitive peoples, what Sumner calls “folkways” seem to have been identical, or nearly so, with what he later describes as

mores. Folkways are not merely ways of doing all the common things of life as they have become defined in custom and transmitted through tradition, but they are the "right" ways.

There is a right way to catch game, to win a wife, to make one's self appear, to cure disease, to honor ghosts, to treat comrades or strangers, to behave when a child is born, on the warpath, in council, and so on in all cases which can arise. The ways are defined on the negative side, that is, by taboos. The "right" way is the way which the ancestors used, and which has been handed down. The tradition is its own warrant. It is not held subject to verification by experience. The notion of right is in the folkways. It is not outside of them, of independent origin, and brought to them to test them. In the folkways, whatever is, is right.¹

Folkways, however, become in the course of time the object of reflection. Crude and vague notions of societal welfare grow up in regard to them and serve to explain and justify them. Then, according to Sumner, folkways assume the character of mores. The mores are not themselves a philosophy of life, but they hold a philosophy of life in solution. But folkways are not merely customary ways of doing things. They are, at the same time, devices and contrivances for getting things done and for doing them effectively. The folkways are practices which embody the elements of technique. Practice leads inevitably to experiment and then to reflection on these experiments. Out of these reflections we get eventually science, i.e., natural science. When science has explained the arts, ceremonies, and practical devices by which we do things and get them done, these arts, ceremonies, and other devices assume the character of technique.

The effect of this experimentation upon the folkways is to secularize them; to take them out from under the mores—that is to say, out from under the control of custom and the group—and put them at the service of the individual man. In this way, they cease to be a form of social ritual and become a kind of tool, a means to an end, rather than an end in themselves.

This process of secularization begins with simple and elementary practices like sowing and reaping, the making of gins and traps, the manufacture of tools. It extends itself eventually to all the activities of life.

¹ W. G. Sumner, *Folkways* (Ginn and Company, 1906), 28.

Furthermore, when customary practices are made intelligible in the manner described, they are more easily transmitted from one cultural group to another. They can be bartered and sold in the marketplace, they lose their institutional character, and become part of that general culture of mankind which we ordinarily call civilization.

The history of modern civilization, viewed from one point of view, is the history of the continued secularization and rationalization of human activities, in the course of which ritual has become technique.

The natural sciences, at least in the occidental world, have long since entirely lost their local and national character. Philosophy and art, on the other hand, still reflect temperament and the historical experience of nations and of peoples of whose cultures they are a peculiarly intimate expression.

The effect of these international labors has been to destroy the clearly marked differences of national thought. At least in the domain of science, the peculiarities of the French, the German, and the English schools are rapidly disappearing. The characteristics of national thought still exist; but in order to find them in the present age we should have to study the deeper philosophical reasonings, the general literature, and the artistic efforts of the three nations. . . . The establishment of an observatory or a laboratory in our age lays under contribution almost every civilized country in the world, and the most international of sciences—that of electricity—fixes its units by the names of discoverers of many countries.¹

Those cultural traits which have so completely lost their local, tribal, and national character that they have ceased to be expressive, have, at the same time, lost their character as culture. They may be regarded as a part of nature. Civilization, on the other hand, is a more abstract conception than culture. Civilization includes both technique and the mores.

Civilization, as we ordinarily use the term, is not a local phenomenon in the same sense in which that is true of culture. It is not a term which describes what is individual and unique in the life of races or peoples. Civilization is the term we apply to those aspects of culture which have been generalized, rationalized, and are gen-

¹ John Theodore Merz, *European Thought in the Nineteenth Century* (London: William Blackwood and Sons, 1907), I, 305.

erally intelligible. So far as there is any distinction in the use of the terms, civilization emphasizes technique as culture emphasizes mores.

It has been a frequent observation of students of society that social groups, although consisting of individuals each with his own private opinions and purposes, frequently acts as if each group had a mind of its own, a group mind. We may, as James Harvey Robinson says we must, have to "reconcile ourselves to novel and revolutionary conceptions of the mind, for it is clear that the older philosophers, whose works still determine our current views, had a very superficial notion of the subject with which they dealt."¹

Without venturing to discuss the question as to whether the group mind is "real" entity in any such sense as the mind of the individual is supposed to be, we may at least use the analogy to describe the way in which social groups do actually behave.

We are already familiar with such expressions as the "rural mind," "the urban mind," "the medieval mind," "mind in the making," etc. What we look for in the materials which the study of cultures offers us is something which enables us not merely to estimate their mentality, but to know their minds, using the term "mind" as Henry Osborne Taylor does when he speaks of the "medieval mind," or as Bliss Perry does when he speaks of the American mind.

That is what is meant by saying that cultural materials must be expressive. We can only know the minds of peoples, as we know a work of art, in so far as we are able to re-create, in our own minds, the experiences which have made them what they are.

Lafcadio Hearn, who was an adept in the art of "feeling himself," as the Germans say, into the lives of strange people, speaks with authority on this topic:

Sympathy is limited by comprehension. We may sympathize to the same degree that we understand. One may imagine that he sympathizes with a Japanese or a Chinese, but the sympathy can never be real to more than a small extent outside of the simplest phases of common emotional life, those phases in which child and man are at one. The more complex feelings of the Oriental have been composed by the combinations of experiences, ancestral and individual,

¹ James Harvey Robinson, *The Mind in the Making* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1921), p. 36.

which have had no really precise correspondence in Western Life, and which we can therefore not fully know. For converse reasons, the Japanese cannot, even though they would, give Europeans their best sympathy.¹

Whether the distinction between technique and the mores, with which I started out, or the distinction between culture and civilization, with which I ended, are wholly tenable or not does not greatly matter for the purposes of this paper. It is at least true that civilization is the broader term, and that within the wide embrace of a civilization, local, tribal, and even national, cultures may be found to exist. It is perhaps only when we consider civilization and culture in this relation to each other that the significance of the distinction between them becomes impressive. Using the terms with this definition, we might say of America today that it has, to be sure, a civilization, but not a culture. This is, in fact, pretty nearly what Horace Kallen does say in defense of his program of cultural pluralism.

Decidedly, the older America, whose voice and whose spirit were New England, has, by virtue of business, of communications, of the immigrant, gone beyond recall. Americans of British stock still are prevaillingly the artists and thinkers of the land, but they work each for himself, without common vision or ideals. They have no *ethos* any more. The older tradition has passed from a life into a memory, and the newer one, so far as it had an Anglo-Saxon base, is holding its own beside more and more formidable competitors, the expression in appropriate form of the national inheritances of the various populations concentrated in various states of the Union, populations of whom their national self-consciousness is perhaps the chief spiritual asset, as their labor-power is their chief economic asset.²

I am not defending the view here expressed. I do not accept it; I merely quote it. But the fact that this view has been uttered and defended by a mind of unusual perspicuity and intelligence is itself significant.

III. CULTURAL TRENDS

The unifying element in every cultural complex is, in the language of Clark Wissler, "a core of ideas and beliefs, actuating a people and in a large measure controlling their career." The core of ideas and beliefs and the material objects in which these ideas and

¹ Lafcadio Hearn, *Kokoro* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1896), pp. 11-12.

² Horace Kallen, *Culture and Democracy in the United States* (Boni and Liveright), p. 105.

beliefs are embodied mutually interact upon one another to produce a harmonious whole. We are constantly remaking the world in accordance with our desires, but that world, once created, inevitably reacts back upon our desires to reshape them and define them in conformity with itself.

"Our experience with the world," says Wissler, "indicates that whenever we find sharp contrasts in such homely affairs as housing and feeding, we are certain to find equal, if not even sharper, contrasts in beliefs, social ways, ideals, and ethics, and in fact all mental attitudes toward things of whatever sort."

This admirable harmony between the ideal and material, between the subjective and objective aspects of culture, is probably a good deal more characteristic of the Eskimo, which is the illustration Wissler uses, than it is—to take an extreme case—of the hobo, or in fact of any other representative of our modern, cosmopolitan, urban life. Between the material objects of the hobo's cultural world and his beliefs and wishes the contrast is so great as to amount to conflict. The same is true, however, of almost every other class in modern society.

It is not merely true that the hobo as an individual is not always able to make ends meet, but the hobo's ideals of life are out of harmony with the general scheme of things. His life lacks form, and he is restless, migratory, and unsettled in his mind.

But this is characteristic of every class in modern society. Even our most solid citizens have a sense of insecurity which probably rests finally upon a sense of incongruity between our material culture and our aims and ideals of life.

The reason seems to be that the changes in our material culture are moving at a tempo with which our ideas and ideals have not been able to keep pace. This lack of congruity manifests itself not merely in our art and in our religion, but in our politics. Our institutions—we hear it repeated on all sides—are out of touch with life. Our art and architecture, like the hobo's career, is free, but lacks form. As Von Ogden Vogt has put it, our art is nondescript.

The arts constitute the description of the world as an age or a people apprehends it. The spiritual life of a time is depicted with unescapable exactness in its artistry. A spiritual movement that does not find expression in the arts

cannot attain self-consciousness or dominance or survival. An age or a people that does not reach any self-realization or any unity of thought or feeling that breaks forth into artistic expression is nondescript.¹

And then he adds:

Rebels, prophets, protestants, are in every time and place, but if they are in the majority, the community is nondescript, and the voices of the arts are mute, for they have no great thing to say. . . .²

This is a nondescript age in which we live. The old isolations within which the older cultures grew up have broken down. "No race can again form so separate a culture and artistry as that of Siam or Japan. The world is one as never before. And it is nondescript as never before."³

On the other hand, religion, as it has found institutional expression in the church, is likewise out of touch with modern life and thought. Science and practical life have moved on and left the church with its creeds behind.

The crisis in the religious world has been brought about by the failure of existing religion to adapt itself to the two outstanding facts in our civilization—science and democracy. . . . Of these two, science is the more outstanding and dominant. It is the foundation of our views of life and of the universe, as well as of our material progress, and so it has largely created the conditions which have favored the rise of modern democracy. Yet the maladjustment of religion with science remains pronounced.⁴

Roscoe Pound has made similar observations in regard to our political and judicial institutions:

To understand the administration of criminal justice in American cities today we must first perceive the problems of administration of justice in a homogeneous, pioneer, primarily agricultural community of the first half of the nineteenth century, and the difficulties involved in meeting those problems with the legal institutions and legal doctrines inherited or received from seventeenth-century England. We must then perceive the problems of administration of justice in a modern, heterogeneous, urban, industrial community, and the difficulties involved in meeting those problems with the legal and judicial machinery inherited or received from England and adapted and given new and fixed shape for pioneer rural America.⁵

¹ Von Ogden Vogt, *Art and Religion* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1921), p. 9.

² *Ibid.*, p. 11.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

⁴ Charles A. Ellwood, *The Reconstruction of Religion* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1922), p. 2.

⁵ Roscoe Pound, *Criminal Justice in Cleveland* (Cleveland: The Cleveland Foundation, 1922), p. 590.

Disease has been described as an evidence and an effect of a lack of adjustment between the organism and its environment. Social disorganization may, with probably equal justice to the facts, be described as an evidence of conflict or incongruity between the subjective and objective aspects of culture, between the group mind and the instrumentalities through which that mind acts.

It is the thesis of this paper that what we ordinarily call cultural trends are changes that take place in the mores, in law, in public opinion, and in philosophy in the struggle to bring these into some sort of consistent and harmonious relations with social conditions and, as we so often say, actual life.

There is a fashion in public opinion, in law, in the mores, and in culture generally, as there is in all things that express the life and the will of the social group. The general direction which fashion takes is what I should like to describe as a cultural trend.

The classic illustration of such a trend is Dicey's account of the changes in public opinion in England in the period beginning with the end of the eighteenth century and ending with the twentieth.¹ Dicey speaks of law and public opinion, but the public opinion that he describes includes what Sumner calls the mores. It is the change in the mores, as they were reflected in law, with which he is mainly concerned.

What he says, in effect, is that from the end of the eighteenth century to the end of the nineteenth, changes in English law, with, to be sure, many divagations and shiftings, took one general direction. On the whole, these changes represented a shift from a more individualistic to a more communistic conception of government and human relations. The direction which this change took was a trend.

Similar changes have been taking place in our own society. Without intending to do so, without clearly realizing that they are doing so, our legislatures, in seeking to regulate the railways and other public or quasi-public corporations, have been steadily undermining the conception of private property inherited from England. The labor organizations, in their struggles with the employers of labor, have worked, consciously and unconsciously, in the same

¹ A. V. Dicey, *Law and Public Opinion in England*.

direction. The latest and most radical expression of the labor movement is embodied in the phrase "citizenship in industry." Citizenship in industry is an assertion of labor's right, in conjunction with its employers, to fix wages and define the conditions under which industry should be carried on.

The expression, "boring from within," is simply a description and a rationalization of the process by which labor has actually undermined the institution of property upon which the employer's right to control the industry rests.

If now we consider causes, the systematic character of these changes and the apparent failure of both parties to understand their fundamentally subversive character seem to preclude the notion that they were the result of design, or consciously intended by the persons who brought them about. The causes were deeper and more impersonal.

When we review what actually has taken place in the nineteenth century, we observe that with the growth of cities the multiplication of the means of transportation and communication, and the consequent division of labor, the interdependence of individuals and of peoples has been vastly extended. And this extension of the division of labor, with the consequent economic interdependence which it involves, has undermined not only the independence of the workingman, but of every one of us. Under conditions of modern life the workingman bears, or did at one time, most of the economic costs of the fluctuations of industrial production. Every new industrial machine puts the hard-won skill of a group of workers on the scrap-heap. Every fluctuation in trade threw large numbers of men out of work. With this increasing extension of economic interdependence of all individuals and classes, it was inevitable that eventually laws should be passed that recognized this interdependence and sought to control it.

In general, one may say that changes in what Rivers calls the less material culture always and inevitably reflect changes in the more material culture. In other words, technique and the mores are so related that any change in the former inevitably brings corresponding changes in the latter. The relation is, however, probably not reversible. This is, perhaps, one explanation of the fact as well

as the illusion of progress, progress being a cultural trend in which we see social conditions constantly in process of amelioration in one direction while they are just as steadily deteriorating in others.

Nothing inspiring or uplifting seems to follow from the cleavage I have attempted to point out between the core of the cultural complex and its expression in physical objects; there is no immediate practical significance, either, to the fact that what we call cultural trends seem to arise out of the struggle for coherence among elements, subjective and objective, within the cultural complex.

It is significant, however, that these distinctions have in every case arisen, not merely in an attempt to analyze primitive cultures, but in the effort to deal practically with the problems of racial and cultural conflicts as they manifest themselves, among people with whom we are brought in everyday contact, within the limits of what Henry James calls the "American scene."

What does strike one as hopeful, is that further investigation on the lines here indicated, will throw a new and a more searching light upon the whole cultural process, so that in the future we may hope to study it empirically, rather than discuss it philosophically, as this paper has been compelled to do.

THE SUBJECTIVE ASPECT OF CULTURE

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ABSTRACT

The present trend of opposition to instinctivism implies a rejection of evolutionism as a tool of analysis for social psychologists. Behaviorism and all similar efforts to interpret personality in terms of reflexes involves the unjustifiable assumption that culture is added to the human animal and that the two can separately be investigated. Heredity and cultural environment are not separate forces, they are merely tools of analysis. They are justifiable abstractions but are too often conceived as independent forces. Social psychology, defined as the study of the subjunctive aspect of culture, includes the study of groups and the study of individuals. The most important fields in which data can, at present, be found seem to lie in the realms of ethnology, history, and biography.

The efforts of astronomers to signal to the planet Mars on the occasion of the last opposition, were, unfortunately, not rewarded with success, but the Martians, who are more advanced than we, did succeed in landing an expedition of scholars on the North American continent. In a recent conversation with one of the members of the expedition, I found it very difficult to convince him that we still have a large group of students of psychology who seek to explain and understand human nature by collecting anecdotes about the ants, bees, and the wild oxen of Patagonia. The Martian was at first incredulous. He, too, had been interested in zoölogy and had studied the fishes, insects, birds, and quadrupeds of the earth, but he had thought it necessary, before venturing any conclusions about the terrestrial featherless bipeds who have built cities, erected monasteries, built palaces and temples, and practiced institutionalized torture, to draw the facts from the behavior of the human animals themselves. The Martian was very insistent. No aspect of life, said he, was so interesting or so various in its manifestations as the human animals, and none interested him more. But the behavior of the different varieties of the species were so different that he felt he was under the necessity of spending some months to get at the facts of human life in their variety before he could venture any conclu-

sions. I tried to explain to him that we had been at it more or less continuously for sixty-six generations. He was amazed. "Is it possible?" was all he could say.

I tried to defend our clan. "You see, we have evolution, we have instincts, we have neurones, synapses, and reflexes." Evolution—he had heard that word, but he had been under the impression that it referred to anatomical structures and their relations, which I had to admit. "Then how can you apply it to societal sequences?" Well, I squirmed, it was a beautiful idea, and we thought we should like to apply it to human society. "But that does not appear defensible," he said. "It seems, pardon me, almost indolent to take over the generalizations of one field and apply them in advance to another." I quickly changed the subject.

"But we have human instincts?" The celestial visitor smiled. "What are you trying to put over on me, anyhow? I have been in the libraries long enough to know that the instincts of the human being are listed in the most chaotic fashion. Three eminent writers agree in listing just one human instinct, one gives just two, several give four, others ten, some twelve, sixteen, twenty-three, and on to a hundred or more."

"Well," I conceded, "there has been a recent revolt from the instinct doctrine, but at least we have behaviorism."

"It sounds bad to call a scientific doctrine an ism, but go ahead."

Behaviorism, I tried to explain, is a method of understanding and investigating human nature by external observation.

"But what about the imagination—can they observe that?"

"Hush!" I said, "you must not mention imagination, some behaviorist might hear you—it is taboo."

"You mean that they do not try to consider the internal aspect of men?"

"O, yes, the neuroses and synapses."

"Ah! that sounds interesting," he said. "I have often wished there were some technique for observing the working of the nervous system, for obviously it is of the utmost importance in behavior. And what technique have the behaviorists developed for observing the working of the nerve currents?"

"Well, we have books and pictures about them."

"But I mean the working of the synapses!"

"Well, we dissect the brain."

"O, I see, and how do you manage to dissect the brain without injuring the individual?"

"You don't understand; we only dissect him after he is dead."

"But then he has ceased to act."

"Yes."

"But you perhaps dissect the different types of men and observe the different nerve-end connections?"

"Well, no. We usually dissect paupers and the unclaimed bodies of human derelicts."

"Are their synapses the same as those of gifted and successful people?"

"I don't know."

"Don't know! See here, why don't you know?"

"Well, the synapses are not really facts of observation."

"Do you mean to say," said he, "that you build your science on hypothetical assumptions? Now in Mars, our psychology is far more advanced. We begin by—"

Unfortunately, just then I awoke.

The study of human nature goes back very far in the history of thought and has taken so many false leads that new starts have to be undertaken whenever the old efforts have proven misleading. The older structures have to be wrecked and new buildings planned in their stead. At the present time the wrecking crew is very busy and very happy. The young men who are demolishing the instinct hypothesis remind one of the Irish Catholic laborer who was rejoicing at the best job in the world: "Tearing down a Methodist church and getting paid for it." The instincts must go.

The instinct hypothesis arose out of the effort to apply the concept of evolution to the facts of human behavior, and it is the doctrine of evolution that must next be overthrown as a starting-point for social psychology. I do not mean that any concession is to be made to Mr. Bryan and his fundamentalism, but I do mean that, whether applied to individual behavior or to social change, the concept of evolution has been not only sterile of results but has been

positively misleading and has operated to obscure the real facts. He who will read the two books of W. H. R. Rivers, the monograph on the Todas and his masterpiece on the Melanesians cannot hope to find a more eloquent commentary on the new light and added insight that comes when the concept evolution has been discarded and the notion of history and contacts substituted.

All this is disconcerting to some of our number, but the rejection of McDougallism was made necessary in most cases on account of the earnest effort to apply the doctrine. And the same thing can be said about the doctrine of the evolution of society, with its separate stages and successive ages. We accepted it as good and tried to work it, but it would not work, so we had to abandon it.

Whence came the facts referred to? Speaking generally, they came from a widened view of space and a lengthened view of time—in short, from ethnology and from history. He who will go round the planet, considering one by one the peoples and the cultural organizations, and he who will consider the mere tithe that our historians and archaeologists have furnished to us of the weary road along which the race has traveled, often to its doom—he, I say, who will consider these facts will find the conceptions of instincts and evolution incumbrances and not helps.

Let us then consider evolutionism and instinctism dead and buried (or perhaps buried alive). Is the ground clear? Well, hardly. Physiological psychology and animal psychology have descended upon us in the form of behaviorism, and social psychology is to be written in terms of reflexes. The wrecking crew will have a harder task just here, for it is harder to wreck a new building than an old one. Moreover, it is not yet finished, and the wreckers will have to contend with the builders, and yet it must be done. If it is not done we shall not ever get a science of human nature. Now human nature is different from animal nature, and the neurological approach not only has no technique for distinguishing human nature from the nature of the lower animals, but tends to deny that there is any essential difference. But we are interested in just that difference and are determined to study it as it is.

Some years ago it was a common practice to assume a primitive

man, a hairy cave man who went abroad alone, hunting and killing in solitary predaciousness, doing his wooing with a baseball bat and dragging his unconscious bride to his lair. The picture strikes us now as a bit inaccurate. We think of the cave man as probably having been born, and presumably born young, with a mother and a period of infancy. We think of his bride as probably not always and everywhere reluctant to be married. We feel superior to the men who wrote about the cave man in the traditional way, and yet some of our assumptions are open to the suspicion of an analogous error, for much of current writing takes the form of an inquiry into what the individual is, apart from his social influences. It would be as difficult to talk about what brandy is apart from its alcoholic content. It would not be brandy. What the individual would be apart from his environment is forever impossible to state.

It is physiological psychology and neurological psychology which is so largely responsible for the misleading statement of the problem of heredity and environment.

Heredity and environment are not forces operating upon a passive individual. They are not forces that compete within an individual. They are not forces at all. Heredity and environment are tools of analysis, necessary and useful abstractions like weight, color, impenetrability. Chromosomes are concepts which the biologists have developed, increasingly fruitful in guiding their researches, but it cannot be too clearly understood that the social psychologist must do his work in interpreting the phenomena in his field without a microscope. President Coolidge opposes a competitive naval program, while Secretary Wilbur actively and aggressively insists that we should spend one hundred million dollars a year for the next twenty years to make our battleships many and deadly. Far be it from me to deny the existence of chromosomes in Secretary Wilbur and President Coolidge; but if I am gracious enough to admit the existence of their chromosomes, I shall be willing to do so only on condition that our biological psychologists shall speak of their chromosomes subsequent to, and not before, a microscopic examination of them.

It is environment when we cannot account for a divergence by

an appeal to heredity. It is heredity when we cannot account for it by reference to the environment. It is neither heredity nor environment when we do not have to account for it at all.

The study of human personality has witnessed more than one particular divergence from sound method. Descartes was not an environmentalist. At least the central and most important ideas were to him inborn. Men gave up this notion because the divergence of innate ideas brought on too rich a variety for this explanation to satisfy. John Stuart Mill, on the other hand, was an environmentalist. To him ideas came into the mind from without, being formed from the sensations that the environment provided. Men gave up this notion because of the stubbornness of youth against the efforts of their schoolmasters. McDougall is again an instinctivist—a militant apostle of heredity: although ideas are not inherited, yet instincts are native. The British Empire is to him the result of the instinctive curiosity which is so highly developed in the insular Nordics, while African slavery is the consequence of an exaggerated instinct of submission among those who have kinky hair. Men are giving this up because the changing trends which history reveals and the divergent customs which ethnology discovers have made it unworkable. Barnard is again an environmentalist; habits formed under the pressure of the environment determine the nature and development of personality.

It seems that we are ready for another stage in our thinking on this problem. Like many other such problems, we shall not settle it; we shall outgrow it. There are situations in which it is of no value to regard either heredity or environment. Some facts of life can only be explained as due to heredity; others must refer to social influence. But the separation of heredity and environment can only be done by an act of abstraction. They never occur separately, nor do they ever occur together. They do not occur at all save where the investigator analyzes the concept and selects a single aspect to aid him in his puzzle.

There is at the present time a lively but useless controversy as to the nature of social psychology. Social psychology is the study of group behavior, cries one. Nay, says another, it is the study of the individual modified by social influence. Who is right? Neither.

The problem belongs not in psychology but in lexicography. In the Oxford dictionary there are fourteen pages devoted to the definition of the preposition "of." Social psychology can perhaps be defined in a shorter space, but the facts are that men are studying groups and men are studying individuals, and if they can speak a language sufficiently common to enable them to communicate, it should not appear quixotic to hope that some day they may be of service to each other. One would have thought that Professor Cooley had settled this question for us long ago. If I read him aright the difference between the individual and society does not always exist, but it may exist whenever a problem of their relationship appears and when it appears the individual is seen to be one aspect of the whole.

They tell of a Russian Jew who came to the hospital for an operation on his face. He was told that it would be necessary to shave his beard off, a statement which produced in him the greatest distress. He appeared on the appointed day, his face perfectly smooth, having pulled every hair out by the roots. This was clearly the act of an individual. Here were obviously involved chromosomes and nerves and reflexes. But his behavior was the subject aspect of an ancient culture. The rabbis of the Middle Ages pulled their hair out.

McKay, a Negro poet, wrote a few years ago a defiant poem which millions of Negroes have read and memorized, called, "If We Must Die." He belonged to the race which was assumed to have an exaggerated instinct of submission. But there is no submission here, and the point is that in one sense McKay did not write it. His race wrote it. He was the concentrated point with the wit to give expression to what millions were feeling before he wrote and felt more strongly when he wrote it.

John Dewey once said facetiously of the Germans: "Other nations are proud of their great men; but the Germans are proud of themselves for producing Luther and Goethe." But in one sense the Germans are right. They did produce their great men, and they have a right to be proud of them and we of ours.

I am seeking in this paper a formula of reconciliation. To me the concept of a group mind or over-soul is untenable and emotionally distasteful, and yet groups exist. Groups are always composed of

members, and phenomena go on in terms that can be described, if one needs to do so, from the standpoint of individual psychology. Nevertheless, groups exist in the sense that we can identify them, study them, get information about them and learn to handle them. This is the only helpful sense in which anything may be said to exist. From the standpoint of our problem, the institutions of society, our customs, our language, our art, morals, religion, and social organization are the objective phenomena about which facts can be gathered and generalizations made and tested.

But in all these groups there are members, and in each of these members the objective aspects of culture have a corresponding subjective side, and the subjective aspect of culture is one way in which the object-matter of social psychology might be defined.

A lieutenant was drilling his men. After each command he said in a low voice, "You too." To his colonel, demanding an explanation, he replied: "I myself came up from the ranks, and know what those men are thinking. Whenever I give a command, every one of those men says in his heart, 'You go to hell.'" The lieutenant was a social psychologist. He was interested in an aspect of culture which is not easily accessible to strictly behavioristic methods.

Social psychologists should rejoice at the lively interest in the field, and at the activity which characterizes the students of the subject. But we are still too disconnected in our points of view, and can hardly be said to have a universe of discourse. I wonder if we all read each others' books! It matters little what definition you give to social psychology, but it does matter much what method and standpoint we take.

Social psychology is defined as study of groups. It is just that as some men pursue it. Social psychology is defined as the study of individuals, and some are doing that. But the important matter to be grasped is that both are partial, and each a different aspect of the whole.

Personality is the subjective aspect of culture and the problem is not how personality is modified by culture, but how personality results inside the process of culture.

There is doubtless a crowd fallacy and yet groups exist. They exist in the same sense that storms exist, or waterfalls, or stampedes. Groups exist in the sense that we can deal with them, study them,

get information about them, and learn about life by studying them.

And persons exist, and in the same way, and in no other way. For existence can only be apprehended by us as a function.

Consider language. Language has its subjective aspect and facts about language, which can be apprehended in no other way. But language has its objective aspect, and there are facts that can be obtained only by an objective consideration. No one understands the subjective aspect of language without some conception of the other, and vice versa.

Why do we study social psychology? There is the mere urge of curiosity for some, but I freely confess that my own motivation is the hope that we shall get some of the principles of behavior so well formulated that we shall be enabled to control our life better. War, crime, poverty, vice, delinquency, and inefficiency—these are the drives that make us eager to perfect our method and cultivate our field.

And what should our method be? I am convinced that the study of the concrete facts of observation, experience, including introspective experience—the taking into account of ethnological differences and cultural and historical changes—these will be far more fruitful than any other, at least for the present. In short, our method must be frankly analytical, and we must be content to seek patiently the facts and to build on surer foundations.

The conception of social psychology as the study of the subjective aspect of culture, if taken wholeheartedly, will mean more than a mere recognition of individual and social facts. Many writers can repeat Cooley's phrase about society and the individual being different aspects of the same phenomenon without either grasping the real significance of the statement or adding anything to their own competence in investigation. The conception of personality as subjective culture will seem to lead to very real changes of stress and emphasis, among which we may venture to include the following:

1. Abandonment of the neurological and physiological approach, since anatomy and physiology may be assumed to be constant in any given series of cultural changes.
2. Abandonment of anecdotes of animals as material, since animals have no culture.
3. Abandonment of hypothetical elemental infantile behavior as

significant, and a renewed enthusiasm for careful study of children. Children have culture; infants are mere animals.

4. Renewal of emphasis on imagination, since images and symbols are the essential material for the formation of social attitudes, and since images are essential components of wishes. As Cooley says, we must imagine imaginations.

5. Increased emphasis on, and study of, emotional behavior, and the location of the central problem in those crises where old habits break up and new objects and new attitudes are formed.

6. A renewed emphasis on communication and gesture, and the development for objectively studying these, since culture results from interaction and is transmitted in the interpenetration of attitudes and gestures.

These will, it seems certain, make more significant certain types of data which have recently been relegated to a subordinate place, but which ought to be more fruitful than ever. The chief of these are: ethnological facts, historical facts and changes, culture contacts, and individual life histories.

A BIOLOGICAL VIEW OF RACE MIXTURE

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ABSTRACT

A biological view of race mixture.—After a brief survey of certain general principles of inheritance, a few cases of race mixture are discussed. Reasons for the paucity of admissible data are noted, and a few tentative conclusions drawn. Popular assumptions of hybrid inferiority are shown to lack support. Biological evidence indicates that neither inbreeding nor outbreeding have uniform effects, and that each case of crossing may have to be considered as a special problem.

BIOLOGICAL FUNDAMENTALS

Before examining the evidence on race mixture we should prepare ourselves by recalling the present status of the general principles of inheritance in animals. I think we may say with safety that but one method of inheritance has been established with certainty in the higher animals. This is the method first outlined by Mendel. The essence of the Mendelian discovery consists in the hypothesis that the heritable characters which differentiate individuals act as though they were influenced by separate and discrete units which segregate sharply from one another during the formation of the reproductive cells, and retain their identity throughout the processes of inheritance and development. The organism, according to the modern Mendelian view, is a mosaic of separable traits resulting from the interaction of a vast number of inherited units with each other and with the environment. The remarkable constancy of these units, and the manner in which they are distributed among the reproductive cells and the progeny in accordance with orderly statistical laws is now common knowledge. It has become so common, indeed, as to have invaded the popular literature of such *Streitfragen* as racial purity, immigration, race antagonism, etc.

It is true that the Mendelian units of inheritance do appear to be relatively permanent and unchangeable, and that they are distributed by fixed mathematical laws. But, as Jennings has recently

insisted, the characters of organisms are not completely determined or fixed by these Mendelian units. It has become more and more apparent that these units represent only a certain type of reaction to a given set of conditions. Under different conditions the identical hereditary constitution may produce a different set of characters. Moreover, these inherited units or *genes* interact not only with the environment but with each other. Each character of the organism is the resultant of the activity of many units, and likewise each unit probably affects not only one but many parts or characters of the animal body. This more modern view of heredity, which is in accord with the most recent biological research, is more flexible, less dogmatic and lends less countenance to the fatalistic philosophy which either sponsored or was invoked by hasty conclusions from a partial knowledge of Mendelian inheritance.

In any discussion into which inheritance enters as a determining factor, as it undoubtedly does in the biological characters of races or hybrids, it is important to remember that genetics has contributed little to the settlement of the old question of "heredity or environments" nor has it answered the question whether acquired characters are inherited. The most that can be said at present is that the first question is no longer "heredity or environment," but "heredity *and* environment—how do they interact?" While concerning the second it is apparent that fundamental changes (mutations) in the hereditary material occur very rarely, if at all, under the direct influence of environmental stimuli. All attempts to generalize the unsatisfactory evidence on the acquired-characters dispute have collapsed, although not all of them in so lamentable a fashion as the recent efforts of Kammerer.

The most important contributions of genetics consist in the demonstration that inheritance is particulate, and in the description of the behavior of the particles or *genes* under given conditions. The evidence is now strongly in favor of the hypothesis that the *genes* are discrete material entities located in the chromosomes, and that their distribution among the progeny is conditioned by the behavior of the chromosomes and their parts during the processes of maturation and fertilization. Usually in matings between any two animals such as man, a large number of hereditary differences—mental, mor-

phological, and physiological—are involved, and many of these segregate from one another at random according to the original Mendelian view.

The widespread occurrence and regularity of this process by which each visible character of the organism appeared to be inherited independently of every other at first led to rather sweeping but erroneous generalizations, and it is from this era that many of the popularized notions of Mendelian heredity date. For it was soon discovered that complete independence of traits in inheritance is only a special condition to be encountered by chance in certain traits and in certain animals or plants. Two correlating agencies are known by which several characters may be inherited together, or as a block. The first of these is the occurrence, in close proximity in the reproductive material, of the *genes* or units of the several associated traits, so that they tend to be transmitted to the progeny more often together than separately. The second is the occurrence in the animal body, at least of various centers of correlation, such as the ductless glands which influence through such media as the circulation, diverse parts and characters of the body and mind. A hereditary variation in one of these structures is known to have a general effect, and expresses itself in many ways, so that all changes due to this source appear to be inherited together rather than separately. This, of course, is only a special case of a broader truth: that each hereditary unit has not merely a specific, but a general effect as well on many characters of the organism. This is an especially important concept at this time when the endocrines are invoked to explain so many of the differences between men, and especially between races. Of the actual inheritance of endocrine variations, aside from a few pathological defects, almost nothing is known.

It is unnecessary to discuss at greater length the details and complexities of modern genetic theory. These add little to the general conception of unit inheritance, the interaction, association, and manifold effects of the inherited units, and the reciprocal interplay between heredity and environment as outlined above. The data on human inheritance and race mixture are as yet too meager in amount to require more than the elementary general ideas of genetics.

THE DATA OF RACE MIXTURE

The first important observation to make concerning the biological data of race mixture is that they are both few and fragmentary. There is no dearth of scattered observations, but most of them cannot be admitted because of the non-critical nature of the evidence. The rise of physical anthropology with its insistence on exact measurements statistically analyzed, and the new knowledge of inheritance with its present emphasis on specific traits rather than on the body as a whole have quite altered the nature of the evidence required. The data on which the conclusions of the last century rested no longer satisfy the cautious and impartial student of today.

The nature of the human material itself also explains in part the paucity of material. The present human race is a biological unit. All crosses are fertile and result in fertile hybrids. Moreover, man is an anciently domesticated and a widely distributed species. These conditions favor intercrossing between different groups. On the other side and working toward close breeding are the circumstances of geographical isolation and the feeling of race prejudice. Each of these latter is in the life of a species of relatively temporary duration, although they may be operative for sufficiently long periods to protect groups from outcrossing, and thus enable variability within the group to be reduced and group peculiarities to develop and become relatively fixed. The absence of sterility is, however, a continuing and permanent aid to crossing, and the movements of peoples sooner or later provide the opportunity. That crossbreeding has taken place from the earliest times is evident to the biologist who has come to ascribe to the inherently variable types a history of crossbreeding, and to the pure and less variable types a degree of antecedent inbreeding. And in turning from animal to human material he is at once impressed with the enormous variability in evidence. In the absence of anything resembling pure types, the investigator must work in a complex and fluid medium which contains no datum points or bench marks, conditions which impede the progress of racial investigations.

The evidence on which we may rely for tentative answers to our purely biological questions must also be as little complicated as possible by the complex social environment which results when hy-

brid types live in continuing contact with the parent types, particularly if these happen to be of the so-called civilized type. The type of evidence fulfilling these requirements is such as that which Fischer obtained in the interesting hybrid community which he investigated in South Africa. Some material has been obtained from Hawaii, where hybrids between the chief racial groups of the world are found in a single environment, and most recently Shapiro has obtained valuable observations on the hybrid population of Norfolk Island in the Pacific, and has very kindly given me access to parts of his data. In addition to the above purely racial evidence, there are numerous systematic observations on the inheritance of specific human traits, some of which throw light on racial inheritance. As an example of the type of evidence which is not entirely acceptable, may be mentioned the observations of Mjöen as presented in a recent paper at the Second International Congress of Eugenics. The biological conclusions of Mjöen have been severely criticized by Castle, but his evidence from human hybrids appears to partake of the nature of the experimental evidence from animal hybrids.

The evidence from Fischer's study of Boer-Hottentot hybrids has been published for some years and is well known. The evidence from Hawaii relating to Hawaiian-Chinese hybrids has been partially recorded, and the other observations on race mixture between Hawaiians and Europeans are in process of publication. Perhaps the most interesting material of all, that of Shapiro on the Tahitian-English hybrids of Norfolk Island, is in process of analysis, and is not yet available. The latter case has been known for many years as an exceptional opportunity for the study of race mixture uncomplicated by contact of the hybrids with parent stocks. A century and a half ago ten English sailors who had mutinied from the ship "Bounty," together with six Tahitian men and twelve Tahitian women, escaped from Tahiti to the tiny island of Pitcairn in the mid-Pacific, and there founded the hybrid race which now occupies both Pitcairn and Norfolk Islands.

The data on the physical characteristics of these diverse types of hybrids are in substantial agreement. When considered together with the results of studies in human inheritance they afford partial answers to some of our general questions.

In the first place, they leave little doubt that human traits, even those which differentiate races, are inherited in accordance with the Mendelian conception of inheritance. This conclusion rests in part on the general results of studies in human inheritance, and to a lesser extent on the data from racial crosses where the complex and quantitative character of most of the differences has prevented an exact analysis. Such traits as head-form and bodily proportions differ among the races of the world on a quantitative scale with overlapping variability. The inheritance of such traits in man, as in animals and plants, is apparently complex. Usually the hybrids are intermediate in any such character between the parental conditions, and increased variability and combinations in one individual of traits from both parental races are the only evidence that these traits rest on a genetic basis similar to that which obtains in other animals. This evidence, however, is usually accepted by geneticists as an indication that such traits are influenced by many factors which differ in number rather than in kind from those which affect simpler, qualitative traits.

The intermediate nature of the hybrids indicates that such characters do not usually show dominance. This is not an unfailing criterion of Mendelian inheritance, since in most animal crosses the complete disappearance or non-expression of one of the contrasted parental traits in the hybrid offspring can no longer be regarded as the rule.

Few racial traits show dominance, but when it does happen that some prominent racial character of a given race does appear in the majority of its hybrid progeny it is sometimes concluded that this indicates a greater general prepotency on the part of that race, which means, I suppose, a greater ability of this race to stamp its characters on the progeny. Thus the negro skin-color and the Mongolian type of eyelid appear to be partially dominant; that is, they are expressed in the hybrid condition. But this means only that traits which because of their uniformity within the parent race have come by long experience to be accepted as the hall mark of the race do happen to show dominance. Other elements in the racial complex do not show dominance, as, for example, the head-shape of the Chinese, which appears to be partially recessive to the broader head-

form of the Hawaiians. It may happen that one of the races participating in the cross possesses more visible or measurable dominant traits than the other, as, for example, the South Chinese as compared with the Hawaiians; but the behavior of these traits in inheritance shows that the chance association of dominance with noticeable traits is sufficient without invoking a mysterious racial prepotency.

That segregation and recombination of parental characters does take place is, however, unquestionable even in the meager data at hand. Diverse combinations occur as early as the second generation and one finds, for example, in the second generation from a cross of Hawaiian by Chinese, individuals with the stature of the Hawaiian parent, the hair-form of the Chinese, the head-form of the Hawaiian, the peculiar Mongoloid eye of the Chinese, etc. There is in the data from Hottentot-Boer, Negro-white, Hawaiian-white, Hawaiian-Chinese, or Tahitian-white crosses as observed by Shapiro on Norfolk Island no evidence of permanent blends of racial traits. An intermediate condition of certain traits may become established if assortative mating of special types takes place, but the rule is that the single characters tend to segregate from the cross in different combinations in later generations.

This segregation is the basis of the universally observable increase in variability of hybrid populations in generations beyond the first. The variation curves of the characters of Fischer's Boer-Hottentot hybrids furnish good examples of this fact. It is unquestionably true that variability is increased by crossing.

Do new traits either advantageous or disadvantageous arise as a result of crossing? The evidence does not establish that they do. But there is no question that new and unique *combinations* of traits arise. Superficially this would appear to produce the same result as the genesis of entirely new traits. But its evolutionary significance is quite different, for combinations are limited by the number of single traits, and are found to resolve again into their elements by independent inheritance; while a new trait, if heritable and not disadvantageous, increases by a calculable amount the number of potential combinations. In animal experimentation there is no evidence that new inherited units arise any oftener under crossbreeding than under any other system of mating.

Are human hybrids more vigorous or less than the parent types? Are they under any biological handicaps such as infertility? Are the new combinations of characters in hybrids disharmonious or incompatible? Dogmatic answers can certainly not be given from the human data. The Boer-Hottentot hybrids and the Norfolk population are certainly at least the physical equals of either parent race. In Hawaii the physical measurements of hybrids, while they do not indicate a pronounced hybrid vigor, show that the hybrids are not inferior. And in the opinion of more than one observer some of the hybrid groups, e.g., the Hawaiian-Chinese, represent a physical improvement of the parent types.

Disharmonic types undoubtedly do exist among hybrids, but only in the sense that combinations of traits occur which are not normal or frequent in purer types. As far as can be ascertained from physical measurements these new combinations are not injurious, and no derogatory significance need be attached to disharmony. It is a normal occurrence after crossing.

With regard to fecundity, the evidence is fragmentary and difficult of interpretation. There is a lack of good biological evidence on human fecundity in general, in the absence of which it is impossible to say how much of the often-noted differences in this respect between races and their hybrids rest on a biological basis and how much is due to economic and social causes. The birth-rate itself is an expression of the interaction of these several factors and of another item by no means negligible, i.e., the amount of mortality among the unborn offspring. The last may be somewhat lower in mixed than in pure matings. Little, for example, found a greater proportion of still births from intraracial or intranational matings than from matings of different race or nationality. There is some evidence from animals which shows that crossing tends to prevent the expression of factors having an adverse effect on embryonic development, while pure matings allow greater scope for the combination and expression of such factors. In regard to fecundity itself, or the number of potential offspring produced in the absence of social and economic checks, we can draw no conclusions. A lowered gross fecundity has not been established for cross-matings, and the hybrid groups considered are experiencing no difficulty from biological causes in reproducing and increasing in number.

A survey of the few general characteristics of racial hybrids which have been mentioned does not lead to the conclusion that mixed races are in any biological sense inferior to purer types. The kinds of deterioration which are often alleged to follow race-crossing may be shown to follow many intraracial matings, and to be due to social and environmental factors. One can see scant comfort for any hypotheses of racial deterioration based on hybrid inferiority as a biological postulate. On the other hand, the extreme examples cited, such as Fischer's Rehoboth hybrids and the hybrid groups of Hawaii and Norfolk, show that mixed races even of recent origin may be biologically quite as successful as unmixed types which have undergone a longer period of selection in a given environment.

It is quite possible, however, that general statements concerning the effect of race mixture are quite beside the point, and that the biological characters of races or hybrids are determined by factors which are in a measure independent of the conditions of purity or mixture. Such a view has become more and more prevalent among biologists as a result of the work of the last two decades on the effects of different systems of mating in animals and plants. Continued close breeding is now known to lead generally to reduced variability, while in some cases vigor and stamina decline, and in others is maintained. Crossing results generally in increased variability, and frequently in increased vigor. These general results have been reconciled and brought into line with current genetic theory by the assumption that both kinds of effects are due to the dominance, segregation, and recombination of separable factors. The system of mating, whether close or crossbreeding, produces its results only by virtue of its effect on the distribution of the specific inherited units, which assume the rôle of first importance. According to this view, the specific inheritance received is of greater effect than the inbred or crossbred nature of the individual or species. If this is correct, and the bulk of the evidence is in its favor, then the effect of race mixture will depend in each case on the specific inherited units received from each parent race, and it is to be expected that different results will be obtained from different crosses. Crossing between races becomes then a special case of crossing between individuals, in which it has already been established that the inherent nature of the offspring depends on the genetic constitution of the parents. The

peculiarity of the special case consists in the greater *number* of inherited differences involved in racial crosses rather than in the *kind* of differences. These differences in number only make the biological study of race mixture more complex; they do not set it apart as a problem to be studied and interpreted with a new or peculiar set of symbols or hypotheses. The large problem of race mixture will become progressively broken up into single problems which will deal with each case of race mixture as a special case.

The present evidence in regard to mental differences between races leads to the same conclusions as that in regard to physical traits, that is, that races are unlike, and probably innately so. There is no good evidence on the behavior of these differences following race mixture, but there is no reason to expect that, if they are as real as the physical differences, they should behave differently.

All that has gone before is an implicit plea for an objective view of racial problems. This can only be gained through the recognition of the reality and of the biological and social significance of race. Striking racial differences exist, which are not abolished, but combine and endure through cross-matings. These diverse combinations and the variability which results may be one condition of evolutionary progress in man as in the lower animals and plants. It may be suggested that in a complex civilization which rests on division of labor, variability is even more essential than in more primitive societies. Real racial differences may then be the raw materials needed for an enlarging society.

DISCUSSION

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Some points in Professor Dunn's paper will bear reiteration and others expansion. In the first place, it cannot be too often repeated nowadays that pure races, in the sense in which the experimental biologist or animal breeder uses the term, do not exist in the human stock, though some groups are, obviously, purer than others. All the great groups represented by the terms white, black, or yellow, are highly complex from the standpoint of genetic composition. The same is true of such ill-defined racial groups as the Nordics or the Anglo-Saxons.

Those who, therefore, claim that the so-called Nordic race may be likened

to a high-bred strain of domestic animals are drawing heavily on their will to believe. In such animal strains there has been a great deal of selective breeding, whereas in the populations among which the Nordic element has existed for many thousands of years there has prevailed an approximation to panmixia. In his study of the *Old Americans*, who may be taken as representative of the so-called Anglo-Saxon race, Hrdlicka found that mixed types greatly predominate, and that pure brunets are more frequent than pure blonds. It is safe to say that all the populations of civilized countries are not only hybrid, but multi-split hybrids.

Secondly, not the least interesting disclosure of recent genetic experimentation is the fact that the same inherent constitution may react differently to different environments. In technical terms, the same genotype, or inherent constitution, may give rise to different phenotypes, or actual organic forms, under different environmental conditions. Such changes involve no change in genotypic or idiotypic nature or possibilities and are not to be confused with mutations. But it would be a mistake to imply that an organism as resistant as the human is likely to show measurable differences in phenotypic responses to ordinary variations in environment. Boas' famous investigation of changes in the head-form of immigrants cannot be accepted unequivocally, and even if accepted shows such differences to be small.

Another point that will bear re-emphasis is the tendency toward blending in the first hybrid generation and toward segregation of traits in succeeding generations, but with little evidence of clear-cut or complete dominance. This matter is greatly complicated by the fact that the unit characters of the popular textbooks are much less simple on the human level than in four-o'clocks. Some lists of such characters have been given by Davenport, Conklin, and Holmes, but they are certainly not very reliable. The complicating factor appears often to be of a quantitative sort, as illustrated by degrees of pigmentation. This makes possible a retention of a blended condition even after some segregation has occurred. White children from mulatto parents are extremely rare. Nevertheless, segregation occurs in complete form for specific traits and, together with assortative mating, tends to preserve the superficial aspects of the original parental types.

It was this fact that led many of the racial determinists of a generation ago to the conclusion that certain combinations of traits were stable and tended to restore themselves amid a mixed population, while other combinations were unstable and hence tended to be eliminated. A full determination of the matter would require a measure of the extent of dominance and of the influence of assortative mating. But even when these are given all possible weight the older views appear out of joint with the facts. Thus, when certain blond traits, say blond features, segregate out from a blond-brunet hybrid stock, there is no ground for supposing that other traits originally associated with blond hair and eyes in one of the parent stocks will also segregate out. The genes segregate in independent fashion, except for certain closely related traits. One must con-

clude that in such populations as those of Western Europe and the United States there is no general tendency to revert to the original stocks, but that an endless diversity of mozaic combinations of the original unit elements occur, like the endless variety of an infinite kaleidoscope.

Here a word may be said about the so-called disharmonic combinations. Because of them numerous writers warn against racial crossings. In writers of the Lapouge school the disharmony consists for the most part in the unusualness of the combination. The usual is considered the normal. But this does not warrant the conclusion that the unusual is abnormal in any derogatory sense. Professor Castle concludes from genetic experiments against the whole doctrine. In any case broad generalizations, as Professor Dunn states, must give way to a consideration of individual cases.

Many other points might be discussed; we limit ourselves to the question of variability. Hybrids show a wider variability because they permit a reshuffling of the genetic elements. The Gobineau-Grant school of racial determinists have cultivated the dogma that civilizations die because the pure race that creates them is mongrelized and its talent polluted by race crossing. The opposite argument is more plausible. Civilizations arise only in areas of race mixture and only in such areas long after the mixing has begun. So far as biological factors play a part in this result they do so because race mixture produces an increased diversity of human talents. A single pure-bred race cannot produce geniuses of the highest order in all the highly diversified lines of human achievement which are necessary for a complex and colorful civilization. Such a distinctive racial type would of necessity have the limitations of its own special gifts. In other words, a population possesses a richer genetic basis than a race.

THE HYBRID AS A SOCIOLOGICAL TYPE

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ABSTRACT

The hybrid as a sociological type.—There are no ethnically unmixed groups in the modern world, and all persons are, in consequence, hybrid. These hybrids, being for the most part the offspring of parents of nearly related racial types, are not markedly different in appearance from individuals of the parent races and are not sociologically significant. But in some cases the hybrids are the offspring of individuals of physically divergent racial groups. In such cases the hybrids are in appearance unlike the members of either parent race and are unable to pass as members of either the one race or the other. The physical appearance thus determines a social type by determining the social status of the hybrids in the biracial situation. In all cases these hybrid groups resulting from the amalgamation of physically divergent races are superior in social position and in intellectual achievement to one racial element of their ancestry. This superiority cannot be explained in biological and ancestral terms, but is readily amenable to explanation in terms of mobility and social contact.

There are few questions of behavior more heavily freighted with emotional content than that of racial amalgamation. It touches the two points at which Western peoples most frequently run amuck: the violation of womanhood, and the integrity of the social group. The attitudes at each point are so completely imbedded in the underlying mores as all but to preclude discussion of related topics. Also, there are many persons who harbor an uneasy fear that candid discussion of racial intermixture would bring into the light facts not wholly flattering to a revered ancestry. There are others who regard any objective treatment as an attempt to challenge the validity of beliefs essential to the stability of the existing racial order. To certain persons of delicate sensibilities the idea is personally distasteful; they are physically nauseated by the imagery of the intimacy involved.

By simple rationalization of these emotional attitudes men derive opinions concerning the phenomenon that stirs their tribal fears. They see in the amalgamation of races a violation of the divine purpose manifest in the fact of racial dissimilarity; they see the decline of civilization and the recrudescence of barbarism through the contamination of the Nordic stock; they see the downfall of nations as

a result of the dilution of the political genius of peoples; or they foretell some other type of major disaster according as the individual run of attention determines the specific form of the rationalization. To forestall a train of anticipated evils men resort to external control in its varied forms: the state denies to mixed marriages the protection of organized society; the church withholds her divine sanction; public sentiment ostracizes the participants; and unregulated mobs discipline persons violating the racial taboos of the group.

Yet, regardless of the moral indignation aroused and of its expression in ill-considered legislation and in acts of personal violence, the process of racial fusion goes on wherever individuals of divergent racial ancestry come into personal contact.

While we may not assert that the fusion of races has always aroused the disapproval of the group, we may assert the universality of the process itself. The skeletal remains of fossil man leave no doubt that the blending of divergent stocks was in process some millenniums before the historic era. Examination of the various existent backward-culture peoples shows an endless mixing of stocks and blending of cultures. Knowledge of historic peoples of both the ancient and the modern world reveals invasion and conquest, the fusion of cultures, and the amalgamation of the conquered with their conquerors as characteristic elements in the formation of states. Every modern marriage continues the process of hybridization of nearly or remotely related racial types; virtually every child is the hybrid offspring of a hybrid ancestry.

The hybridization of stocks, continuous in the phenomena of marriage in the ethnic mosaic of modern nationalities, gives rise to offspring not differing in any outstanding way that would interfere with mobility and social contacts in a cosmopolitan society: each hybridized individual is a unit with a unique combination of physical and probably of mental traits, but sufficiently within the group range of variation to live an individual and unmolested life. This intermixture has no sociological consequences, and interests the social theorist only to the extent that it facilitates cultural contacts and contributes to the spread, acceptance, and fusion of culture heritages.

But in the recent centuries, particularly since the period of the

discoveries, and increasingly as science through the development of means of transportation and communication has made possible world-wide trade and commercial relations, people hitherto widely separated have been brought into contact in ever increasing numbers. These ethnic contacts incident to trade, colonial, and military activities, have been in certain cases with peoples of distinctive physical appearance and of retarded or divergent culture.

When such has been the case, the sex relationships of individuals of the unlike races have resulted in hybrid offspring more or less distinctive in appearance. In America the white pioneers and settlers associated with and sometimes married the Indian girls. At present every Indian tribe contains numerous individuals of biracial ancestry who obviously are neither Indian nor European. In some tribes no individuals of pure Indian ancestry remain, and in many the half-breeds are more numerous than the persons of unmixed Indian ancestry. Incident to the Spanish colonial policy, large numbers of individuals of Spanish-Indian ancestry appeared. In the Spanish West Indies, in Central America, and in various South American republics these Spanish half-breeds are elements of numerical importance in the populations. Other hybrid groups owe their origin to the contact of the Portuguese and Indians in South America; to the contact of the French and Indians in Canada; to the contact of the Chinese with the native races of the Philippines. In the West Indies, on the continent of South America, and elsewhere the Spanish came into contact with Negroes and left a numerous mulatto progeny. Other mulatto groups have appeared in South Africa and the United States and indeed in every situation where Negro women have encountered white men. There are various half-caste groups in the Indian Coast cities and elsewhere in the Orient which resulted from the contacts incident to the trade and commercial relations between the East and the West and to the colonizing activities of the European world.

In each of these cases, and in various others, the mixed racial ancestry is plainly evident in the physical appearance of the hybrids. The marriage of the hybrid individuals with each other as well as their crossing with each of the parent races has produced an endless variety of types intermediate between the contrasted racial extremes.

We are not here concerned with the physical effects of these race crossings—with hybridization in the biological sense. But the distinctive appearance resulting from the biological fact of intermixture affects the mobility and so limits the degree and conditions the type of social interaction. We are concerned with the sociological consequences of the intermixture of racial stocks that are sufficiently divergent in physical characters to give rise to an offspring readily distinguishable by external and ineradicable marks from the members of either group.

A thing that inevitably impresses itself upon the student of comparative racial phenomena is the striking similarity in social status and achievement of different hybrid groups. In every biracial situation the hybrids form or tend to form a distinctive class, and to occupy a more or less distinctive social position. In every situation they have erupted a percentage of intellectually capable men far in excess of that furnished by the native element of their racial ancestry. Everywhere they have risen to positions of leadership and relative social success in larger numbers than have the full-blooded individuals.

A study of four or five thousand American men of Negro blood who have achieved in any degree that would distinguish them even locally from the great mediocre group shows a great preponderance of men of biracial ancestry. If attention be limited to the small group of men of Negro affiliation who have shown a type of ability that would be marked and exceptional in any group, the percentage of mixed-blood men very greatly increases. In spite of the fact that the Negroes of relatively unmixed Negro blood outnumber the mixed bloods three or four to one, they have not produced one prominent man to ten men of equal ability developed by the mulattoes. The disproportion holds in all fields of endeavor, though it is less marked in poetry, oratory, preaching, and other lines in which ignorance is not a serious handicap than in science and in scholarly and professional pursuits where achievement is more largely conditioned by adequate training. The disproportion has prevailed throughout the history of the Negroes in America, though it is perhaps less today than at earlier periods.

The facts are not essentially different in other biracial situations.

In Jamaica, Brazil, South Africa, and elsewhere the hybrid elements form an intellectual, social, and economic aristocracy that has produced the vast majority of the men who have risen to prominence. There appears to be no exception to the generalization that, in bi-racial situations comprising two racial groups of unequal culture, the hybrids tend to occupy an intermediate social and cultural status and to produce a markedly higher percentage of men of prominence and leadership than does the ethnically unmixed native group.

To understand the superior social status of hybrid groups and the greater accomplishment of hybrid individuals it is necessary to inquire concerning the facts of origin, development, and opportunity.

A popular explanation of the superiority runs to the effect that hybrids, being the offspring of a so-called inferior by a so-called superior race, will, in accordance with the popular conception of the blending of biologically heritable traits, occupy an intermediate position between the parent races. Recently various writers have found experimental and statistical means for demonstrating this independently acquired belief. This conception of the mulatto as a halfway type is a phase and variation of the general doctrine of racial superiority which has been apparently a cherished myth of every human group able to observe physical or cultural differences between themselves and their neighbors. At present practically all sound scholarship in social phenomena assumes an essential equality in the native mentality of racial groups and, before a scholarly audience, this sort of explanation may be dismissed without extended discussion. The present popular recrudescence of primitive ethnocentrism is to be understood as an inevitable protest of entrenched privilege against the democratic drift of the modern world.

If any native superiority of the mixed-blood groups over either parent-race appears, the explanation must be found in terms of a selected ancestry. Assuming an inheritance of mental ability—which is probably a fact, though neither the fact nor the degree nor the method of such inheritance has been demonstrated—it must be shown that the ancestors of the hybrid, on either, or both, the paternal or the maternal side, were individuals inherently superior in mental capacity to the average of one or both racial groups. Selec-

tive processes must be shown to have been operative in the establishment of the group. This requires an examination of the facts of intermixture.

In origin the half-breed individuals were the result, in major part, of extra-matrimonial relations between men of the politically dominant race and women of the inferior group. In America the white man fathered a mulatto offspring by both the free and the enslaved Negro woman. In Canada the French men and the Indian women freely intermixed. In Central and South America and in the West Indies the Spanish reared a numerous progeny by both the Negro and the Indian women. In the Philippines and elsewhere in the East both the Chinese traders and the Spanish conquerors used the native women as mothers of their half-caste offspring. On the African continent are numerous mixed races owing their origin to the contact of the Arab and other traders with women of the native races. The rather numerous Eurasians of the coast cities of the East owe their origin to the contact of Western men and Eastern women. In every situation the mixed-blood groups are the result of extra-matrimonial relations between the men of the politically and culturally dominant group and the women of the native or culturally retarded race.

I am not unmindful of the fact that a marriage relation sometimes obtains between individuals of such racial groups, nor am I unmindful of the fact that women of the culturally superior groups have from time to time married men of the culturally lower race, and that other such women have given birth to illegitimate half-breed children. But a rather trivial percentage of the hybrids of any country can trace their ancestry back to regular marriage unions or to mothers of the culture group. The almost universal rule is that the crossing of races took place outside the socially and legally sanctioned institution of marriage, and that the native or culturally backward race furnished the mothers.

The inquiry thus reduces itself to a question of whether or not, and if at all to what extent, such a situation—extra-matrimonial sex relations between men of a politically or culturally dominant race and women of a dependent race or lower culture—implies a selected type of ancestry.

It is probably true that a polygamous sex system is eugenically desirable. It allows the men of wealth and position to choose as consorts such women and girls as please their amorous fancy, and to leave a larger number of offspring than other men of the society. If there exists any correlation between sexual attractiveness and mental ability in women, and if mental ability be a heritable trait, there is reason to believe that the offspring of such a selected maternal ancestry would be mentally superior individuals. Also, if these men of wealth and position are the innately superior men of the group—as has often been asserted, though never proved—the offspring should be innately superior persons from the paternal side of their ancestry. Making the necessary assumptions involved—that wealth and position are evidence of superior native mental ability, or that native ability is correlated with sexual attractiveness in women, and that mental ability is a heritable trait—it is then necessary to show only that the hybrids are the offspring of superior men and charming women. The problem thus reduces itself to the question: Were the hybrids fathered by the men of wealth and position, and were their mothers the exceptional girls of the lower-culture race?

On this point, two or three typical cases must suffice. The half-breed stocks of South America are the descendants of hybrids resulting from the association of Spanish and Portuguese traders, priests, soldiers, functionaries, and other parasitic accompaniments of a colonial régime. There were doubtless among these classes men of average or superior native ability, but to assume that they represented superior biological strains of the Peninsula population would be to make an assumption contrary to everything we know concerning such classes in all societies, and contrary to what we know historically in regard to these particular groups. If the hybrids of these countries can make any claim to a natively superior ancestry, it must be based upon the assumption that these white masters selected for their mistresses the superior members of the enslaved groups, with the further assumption of a positive correlation between mental ability and the type of native female beauty that appealed to the fancy of the Spanish colonial.

In North America the various white peoples, chiefly from North and West European countries, mingled their blood with the Indian

groups until many of the unexterminated tribes contain more individuals of hybrid than of unmixed Indian ancestry. It may be true that the frontiersmen and squaw men were a selected type, but there is no present evidence that they represented the mental élite of a race. If a case is to be made for the mental superiority of the Indian-white hybrids over either parent race the superiority must come from the Indian branch of the ancestry, and to support such an assumption the necessary evidence appears to be lacking.

In the crossing of races in the American Negro-white groups the facts are much the same. It was in part a concubinage of selected Negro and mulatto girls by men and boys of the socially upper classes. There is no question that white men of prominence and presumably of ability were responsible for some part of the early intermixture, nor is there any doubt that the slaveholding aristocracy left a more or less numerous mulatto progeny. But this does not represent all nor indeed the major part of the hybridization. For the most part the amalgamation of the races resulted from the association of unselected groups of both races, and did not represent any obvious superiority on either side of the racial ancestry. Even where the slaveholding groups furnished the fathers, the fact of superior ancestry is not demonstrated. It simply raises the further question as to whether and, if at all, to what extent the slave owners, the plantation overseers, and the slave foremen were inherently superior types of men.

From the known facts in regard to racial intermixture in this and other countries there appears to be no sufficient evidence to justify a belief that the mixed-blood populations are descended from mentally superior persons or groups. If there be any correlation between social position and native ability, the hybrid groups in their origin were probably below rather than above an average, their ancestry rather downward than upward of a social mean; there appears to be no adequate ground for a belief in a native superiority of the individuals of biracial ancestry that would account for their superior intellectual and social status.

The explanation of hybrid superiority must be found in social rather than in biological facts. It lies in the relative degree of isolation, in the differences in mobility and opportunity of the native as

compared with the members of mixed racial origin. For the sake of concreteness and brevity the discussion at this point is limited to the American situation which, in general outline, is typical of the differentiation process within such biracial populations.

At the time of their first contact on American soil the Negroes and the whites represented the opposite poles of cultural development. They differed in language, customs, and habits of life; in moral, mental, and religious development, as well as in ethnic origin, historical tradition, and physical appearance. A black skin, therefore, came early to signify inferior culture and only a little later became the badge of a servile condition. Between the two races there could be no general social equality; there was not even a possibility of harmonious working relations except on the basis of superiority and subordination.

When individuals of mixed ancestry presently appeared there was manifested no disposition on the part of the whites to treat them as essentially different from the Negroes. In large part they were the offspring of a class of white men whose social, economic, and political status was not at first markedly superior to that of the Negroes; when such was not the case the bastard origin of the mulattoes shocked the conventional moral sense of the community and militated against a community recognition of them as superior to the Negroes of full blood. This attitude presently found formal expression in the legislative enactments which assigned the mulattoes to the status of their mothers.

But the individual mulattoes were believed to be more capable than the full-blood Negroes. Consequently, occupational differentiation within the race operated to their advantage: the favored classes among the slaves, as the number of mulattoes increased, came more and more to be light-colored classes; and the trained mechanics and the trusted servants were drawn from these lighter-colored groups. Moreover, the mulattoes made a better appearance than the black Negroes, were less offensive in close association, and so gravitated to those house and personal duties which brought them into personal association with the master class. The plantation slaves and the rough laborers in the cities and the towns were largely black men. The division was, of course, not everywhere equally

marked, and it was seldom a sharp and complete separation. There were many full-blood black men among the favored classes and there were mulattoes in considerable number in the lower slave occupations, but there was a persistent tendency toward an occupational separation on the basis of color. Manumission further widened the breach that existed in bondage. The free Negro group at all times contained a preponderance of mulattoes; in some places it was, to all intent and purpose, a mulatto group. Such education of the Negro as existed before the Emancipation was almost entirely mulatto education; it was limited to the free Negroes and to certain favored individuals and groups among the slaves. Throughout the period of slavery the rational as well as the sentimental judgments of the whites operated to make the mulattoes superior men and to make the superior groups in the Negro population mulatto groups.

The superior achievement of the hybrids of divergent culture races over the native element of their racial ancestry is a historic fact too well established to admit of question. Its explanation appears to rest not in the biological fact of mixed blood as such but in the culture contacts and personal mobility consequent upon the mixed ethnic origin. It is the result of a differential treatment determined by the biological fact, and is thus not an evidence of superior capacity but a reasonable measure of superior opportunity.

AN ANTHROPOLOGICAL VIEW OF RACE MIXTURE

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ABSTRACT

An anthropological view of race mixture.—The whole question of the desirability of race mixture is inextricably bound up with that of racial equality, for if the white man is really superior to the dark-skinned races he should do everything in his power to keep his stock pure. We have, as yet, no conclusive evidence of racial inequality, from the data of physical anthropology, cultural evolution, or mental testing. A really scientific approach to the problems of race mixture is rendered difficult by our inability to breed pure strains together under test conditions. The little information we have does not indicate that hybrids are inferior to pure strains either mentally or physically. The Polynesians, for example, are an unusually fine group. Practically all the civilization of which we have record have been the work of peoples who were mixed in blood, while pure groups are usually somewhat backward in culture. It seems certain that the hybrid is as capable of preserving and adding to civilization as the pure-bred individual. The absorption into the white population of the United States of our present Indian, Mongol, and Negro minorities is not likely to influence our culture unfavorably.

American students are perhaps less fitted to deal with the problems of racial equality and of the results of race mixture than those of European countries, for we find it hard to approach these questions in a spirit of scientific detachment. The color line is as old as the United States, and we have all received impressions during our formative years which can hardly fail to give us an unconscious emotional bias. Perhaps we can gain some perspective by a realization that race mixture in America is inevitable and that the most that the anthropologist or sociologist can do is to forecast its results. We are by no means the first group to be confronted by these problems, and all historical evidence goes to show that wherever two races remain in contact for any length of time there will be more or less intermixture. Indeed, it has been said that the only stock which would have a chance of remaining pure under such circumstances would be one all of whose women were too hideous to arouse the passions of foreign men and all of whose men were too cowardly to steal foreign women. Race mixture may be retarded by social pressure, but it cannot be prevented by any means of control so far devised.

Questions of the desirability of race mixture are inextricably bound up with those of racial equality. A belief in the innate superiority of the group to which one belongs is probably as old as the human species. Most uncivilized tribes apply to themselves terms meaning "men" or "human beings," with an implication that all other groups occupy a less exalted position. As a rule they make no attempt to rationalize this feeling, but we occasionally find it explained by myths of special favor on the part of some deity. A good deal of the current literature on race seems to be much the same sort of attempt at rationalization, although, in accordance with the modern European culture pattern, it is science instead of religion which is invoked. As the writers are Europeans, the superiority of the white man is accepted almost without question and the discussion revolves around the relative rank of the three European Caucasian strains, Nordic, Alpine, and Mediterranean. At the present moment the disciples of Nordic superiority seem to have somewhat the best of it, but their claims have not passed unchallenged, and we may soon expect to see Alpine and Mediterranean champions entering the lists against them.

A study of the physical characteristics of the various races lends little support to the theory of racial inequality. If it could be shown that any one race was markedly nearer to the apes in its anatomy than the others, it would be justifiable to conclude that that race had lagged in evolution and was therefore lower. Racial classifications are based on the simultaneous occurrence of a number of traits. If we take these traits singly and arrange the races in a graded series with the apes at the bottom, we find that their positions vary with the criterion chosen. Thus, in the matter of hairiness, one of the most striking differences between man and the anthropoids, the Caucasian is most simian, with the Negro next and the Mongol last. Cephalic index places the Mongol and Alpine European below the Negro and Nordic, while lip-form places the Mongol lowest, with the Caucasian next and the Negro highest. No one race shows a significant preponderance of simian traits, and we are forced to conclude that the various human breeds are simply the color phases and varieties which are to be expected in any mammalian species of very wide distribution.

The whole question of the relative mental ability of the various races must be left an open one, for we have almost no data on which to base conclusions. The cultural status of the different groups cannot be taken as a criterion, for we know that the growth of culture is dependant upon many factors. Today the Japanese are competing with Europeans on terms of equality, yet within the memory of persons still living they were less advanced culturally than their Chinese neighbors. Moreover, history shows that sometimes one race and sometimes another has been in the lead. At the present time the Nordic European is culturally ascendent. A thousand years ago the Chinese were probably the most civilized people in the world. Two thousand years ago the palm would have been awarded to peoples who were predominantly of Mediterranean race.

The only sound approach to the problem would be to make a large series of psychological tests on representative racial groups and analyze the results by statistical methods. Some work is now being done along this line but it will be some time before any final conclusions are possible. Practically no tests have been made upon uncivilized groups, except a few of sense faculties, and the only extensive data we have in regard to racial differences in intelligence are those derived from the tests upon the American draft during the late war. At their face value these tests would seem to show deep group distinctions. Englishmen came first, then the white draft in general, then Italians, then Poles, and last Negroes. An analysis shows, however, that the northern Negro had ten times as many individuals in the above-average grade and only half as many in the below-average grade as the southern Negro. In the literate tests he ranked above the Italian and only slightly below the Alabama white, while in the illiterate tests he surpassed the Alabama white and the Pole. The literate negroes of the draft, irrespective of section, slightly surpassed the illiterate whites. The conclusion is inevitable that the intelligence ratings given by these tests were much more dependent upon education and social opportunity than race, and that the differences revealed cannot be adduced as a proof of racial inequality. Intelligence tests are still in their infancy, but it is safe to say that very few of those now in use differentiate successfully between innate mental ability and that which is the result of train-

ing. Moreover, they have been devised consciously or unconsciously from the standpoint of European culture, which at once places the non-European at a disadvantage. Further work may prove the existence of racial differences in intelligence, but it seems probable that in these, as in physical traits, inferiority in one respect will be compensated for by superiority in another, so that the final result will be an approximate equality.

Although there seems to be no positive evidence of physical or mental superiority on the part of any one race, there remains the possibility of qualitative differences in mentality, differences in what, for lack of a better term, may be called temperament. This is of vital importance in the problem of race mixture, for if certain races are temperamentally fitted for certain types of culture, it follows that the hybrids of such races, who will not completely inherit the psychological traits of either, will be less fitted to carry on the culture of either than individuals of pure stock. The strongest evidence against the existence of such differences lies in the complete acculturation of individuals who have been brought up as members of alien groups. American history is full of instances of white children, adopted and reared by the Indians, who became thoroughly Indian in culture and refused to return to their own kin. Even within the same race we often find cultural differences so great that the temperament theory becomes untenable. The psychological background of some of the American Indian cultures differed profoundly. The tribes of the plains and Eastern woodlands were intense individualists. Even great tribal ceremonies such as the Sun Dance or the initiation of the Arapaho Men's Societies always originated in individual vows, while all war parties were undertaken on the initiative of some one man who usually was not a chief. There was almost no machinery for the coercion of members of the tribe, and their chiefs ruled by persuasion. The Indians of the Inca Empire, on the other hand, had every detail of their lives regulated by the state. The peasant could not leave the village of his birth unless drawn away for government service, and was compelled to turn in all his products to government magazines, from which they were redistributed according to the needs of the population. There was an army of officials each of whom had almost absolute authority over the men under

him, while at the head of the great machine stood the Inca, an absolute hereditary monarch with divine attributes. The psychological backgrounds of these two systems have hardly a feature in common and it seems certain that a race which could produce both of them could also adapt itself to almost any cultural conditions.

As we have no proofs of racial inequality or of racial differences in temperament, there is no reason to conclude a priori that racial hybrids will be inferior to pure individuals of either of their parent-stocks. A really scientific study of the results of race mixture is fraught with great difficulty. The ideal approach to the problem would be to observe hybrids of pure strains bred together under test conditions, but social strictures render this impossible. We are forced to fall back upon data obtained from chance hybrids the racial history of whose ancestors is usually unknown. In the case of American mulattoes, for example, there is hardly an instance in which we can tell whether the white half of an individual's ancestry was Nordic, Alpine, or Mediterranean, or the black half a pure Negro, a Hamitic Fulah, or a Negro-Malay mixture from Madagascar. Under such circumstances it is not surprising that even the physical results of race mixture are imperfectly understood. The traits which go to make up a racial type appear to be inherited singly or in small linked groups, their propagation following Mendelian lines. Certain features, such as head-form and stature, seem to be due to a presence of several factors in the heredity, and show great variability, especially in the second-generation hybrids. Individuals or races of mixed origin will show all sorts of combinations of the traits of the pure ancestral strains and even with long-continued inbreeding will fail to evolve a uniform physical type. We have no evidence that hybrids or their offspring are physically inferior to the pure strains, and they appear to be at least equally fertile.

At the present time it is quite impossible to establish the relative mental ability of hybrids and pure strains along strictly scientific lines. It has already been pointed out that most of our present intelligence tests fail to eliminate the influences of training and cultural background. This places white hybrids at a marked disadvantage, for there are few instances in which such individuals are unreservedly accepted into white society or given equal opportunities with pure

whites. The position of hybrids between diverse civilized stocks, such as whites and Chinese or Hindus, is especially unfortunate, for they are usually ostracized by both. In crosses between whites and uncivilized races, such as American Indians or Polynesians, the offspring are often received by the less civilized group, and in such cases their record is usually good. Many half-breeds brought up among the Indians have shown unusual ability and force of character, and several of their best-known chiefs have been of mixed blood.

Perhaps the best available approach to the problem of the mental status of hybrids lies in a study of the achievements of groups which we know to be racially mixed. All the great civilizations of which we have record appear to have been the work of thoroughly mixed groups. There are probably no pure races in existence at the present time, but relatively pure strains are nearly always backward in culture. Taken at its face value, the evidence would seem to be all in favor of the hybrid. It must be remembered, however, that cultural contacts are the most important single factor stimulating the growth of civilization. Relatively pure races have remained so because they were isolated, and their cultural backwardness seems to be primarily due to this. The most that we can say is that racial hybridization has not interfered with the perpetuation of culture, while the cultural contacts entailed by the process have stimulated the development of civilizations.

Believers in racial inequality and in the inferiority of hybrids may object that in most of the historic instances of race mixture on a large scale the stocks involved have not been very diverse. The three European races, for instance, all belong to the Caucasian group and have many traits in common which distinguish them from Mongols or Negroes. To find good instances of the crossing of diverse strains we must turn to uncivilized peoples whose racial history must be deduced from their present physical type. The Polynesians afford an excellent example. They appear to be a result of the crossing of at least three stocks which were branches of the Negro, Mongol, and Caucasian stems. These original racial types still tend to segregate out, but the Polynesians are unconscious of their mixed origin and have no social strictures based on physical traits. Physically they are one of the finest groups in the world, their only weakness being a certain lack of disease resistance, probably attributable to their long

isolation. Mentally they are, I believe, as alert and intelligent as Europeans. Wherever they have been given a fair opportunity they have been quick to adopt white civilization and have competed successfully with the whites in the professions as well as the trades. There is nothing to indicate that they are inferior to any of their parent stocks or that hybridization has been other than beneficial in this instance.

The cultural achievements of hybrid groups may not prove that race mixture is desirable, but they do destroy the main argument of those who take an alarmist attitude on the subject. There have been instances in which a policy of deliberate intermarriage on the part of the socially superior race has had excellent results. The success of the early Mohammedan conquests was largely due to the fact that they everywhere took into their harems women of the conquered races. The children of such women were raised in their fathers' language and culture and no social line was drawn against them. The distinction between conquerors and conquered rapidly disappeared, and what the ruling group lost in purity of blood was more than compensated for by its gain in stability of rule. Most of the Arab conquests were the work of very small armies; Egypt for instance, was conquered by four thousand men, yet no other nation has been as successful in establishing its culture over a wide area and among racially diverse peoples.

The so-called racial problems of the present day are actually social and political. That racial antipathies are altogether due to training is proved by the differences in the popular attitude toward members of the same race in different parts of the United States. Even the relative social rank which whites assign to the other races is often the result of accident. The North American feeling toward Indians and Negroes is a case in point. Any impartial student must admit that the Negro in Africa was culturally superior to the Indian of the United States. He had made considerable advances in all the arts, was an expert metal worker, and had developed forms of government and methods of legal procedure not unlike those of early Europe. The African and European cultural background also had certain features in common, for both had drawn elements from the ancient Mediterranean civilizations. The Indian was still in the Stone Age and his cultural background was utterly alien. Under

such circumstances we should expect the white to feel a closer kinship with the Negro than with the Indian, and to accord him a greater degree of social equality. As a matter of fact, the Indian is nearly always ranked above the Negro socially for the simple reason that his ancestors were free men and warriors while the Negro's ancestors, in America, were slaves. The closer resemblance of the Indian and white physical types may have somewhat influenced the Indians' position, but the extent to which whites and Negroes have interbred proves that the Negro physical type is not unattractive to the European. If the whites had come to know the Negroes as free men and the Indians as slaves the social position of the groups would no doubt have been reversed.

When social distinctions on the basis of race have once become established they may persist for a very long time, but they are not proof against economic attacks. A rich member of the socially inferior group can usually find a mate among the poorer members of the socially superior one. The average white man has an aversion to contracting a regular marriage with an Indian woman, but the white demand for Osage women, who are rich in oil land, is now so great that the Indian agent requires every prospective husband to give a bond, submit to a physical examination, and present character references. White husbands have become so easy to get that they are now considered somewhat less desirable than even Indian men of other tribes.

Culture, in the anthropological sense, is the most important fact of man's existence. It is the one thing which sets him apart from the animals. We have every reason to believe that the hybrid is as capable of perpetuating and improving it as the full blood and we may, therefore, face the fact of race mixture in America with equanimity. There is no reason to suppose that the United States of one hundred or five hundred years hence will be any the worse for the gradual absorption into its white population of the present Mongol, Indian, and Negro minorities. The first two are numerically unimportant, while the Negroes, including those who already have a white admixture, form only about 10 per cent of the total. The process of assimilation will no doubt be a slow one, but unless all history is at fault it will go on until the present racial lines have been obliterated. Even the physical aspect of these remote future Ameri-

cans of mixed ancestry probably will not be vastly different from that of the present stock, for anyone who casts an anthropological eye over a modern American social gathering will discover some surprising things. He will see traits which bespeak a remote Mongoloid or Negroid strain in many persons who believe themselves to be of pure blood. There were Negroids in Europe as early as there were white men, and waves of Mongoloid peoples have swept into it since before the dawn of history. Even the pure "old American" is so hopelessly mixed racially that a little more alien blood is not likely to hurt him.

DISCUSSION

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Both Mr. Linton and Professor Reuter mention the emotional attitudes which members of the white race, especially in this country, take toward the amalgamation of races. On the other hand, we must not let our own interest in cultural anthropology deflect us from an honest consideration of the facts of race mixture. In most discussions of this problem there tends to be a denial not only of racial but of individual differences in mental ability within the racial groups. While it is true that there are no pure races today, biologically speaking, the facts of long inbreeding have produced certain stabilities of type in Mongoloid, Negroid, Malay, and white stocks. Hence we may speak of these as races in the general sense. It is within the period of modern history, especially since the seventeenth century, that great intermingling of these various stocks has taken place, and within the past hundred years only has this mixture gone on with great rapidity in certain countries where the various groups have come into contact with each other.

We must admit the great difficulty in segregating the factors of innate ability from those of learning, for after all the matter of cultural assimilation comes, on the psychological level, to be a question of learning capacity. And learning capacity, with its central features of attention and imagination, is really what is meant by intellectual ability. It is a fact, too, that so far we possess no adequate criterion of racial differences except the statistical evidence based on the percentages of members of culturally comparable racial groups who reach or exceed the median performance of another group. Perhaps this statistical criterion is the only one we shall ever have. Let us examine from this angle some of the recent studies which have been made on individual and racial differences.

Ruch has recently made an extended investigation of the learning capacity of three groups of persons of varying intelligence levels as measured by the best

mental tests available. Using three types of learning material, he found that in perceptual-motor learning all three groups of persons, superior, average, and inferior, made good progress; that in perceptual-memory learning the superior and average groups moved, relatively, much faster than the inferior; and that in handling abstract, symbolic material only the superiors made any marked progress at all, the average group making some slight advancement and the inferior group practically none whatsoever, even after forty days' practice. This study furnishes pretty conclusive defense for individual differences.

Peterson, working with different white, mulatto, and colored children with a rational learning test which lies intermediate between Ruch's second and third type of learning material has revealed marked differences in the performances of the different groups. He finds a high correlation, moreover, between the results of his learning problem and tests of general intelligence. Both Peterson and Ferguson have shown a close correlation between the percentage of white blood in Negro-white crosses and the tests. Cultural conditions have been taken into account and an honest effort made to secure comparable cultural and educational backgrounds. Ferguson has worked with block-design tests which operate independently of language and formal training, and Peterson's rational learning and other tests are relatively free of such language factors as are frankly related to education.

It may still be said, of course, that the mulatto groups have superior opportunities to the pure Negro. But if, as Professor Reuter asserts, the mulattoes are forced to the general status of the negro rather than being allowed to partake of the white man's culture, then one inquires if the psychologist has not some point in asserting that the superiority of the mulatto over the pure-blood Negro is at least in part due to superior strains of white blood as well as to cultural factors. It must be questioned, parenthetically, whether it be true that over the whole period of Negro-white crossings in this country it has been the most mentally inferior groups of white men who have consorted with negro women. Certainly, up to a generation or so ago, this was not so. Furthermore, the biologist and the psychologist may with impunity raise the query as to whether or not the inherent factors of superior ability may not account for the facts given by Professor Reuter when he says: "In every situation they [the mixed stocks] have erupted a percentage of intellectually capable men far in excess of that furnished by the native element of their racial ancestry" Especially does one question the completeness of the cultural theory when he remarks further: "In spite of the fact that the Negroes of relatively unmixed blood outnumber the mixed bloods three or four to one, they have not produced one prominent man to equal ability developed by the mulattoes." This query, I say, is pertinent when the culturalist admits that the mulatto is, by and large, forced into the social-economic status of the lower-culture group.

The same question may be raised about the Indian-white mixtures. Surely, whether it be true that "all sound scholarship in social phenomena assumes an essential equality in the native mentality of racial groups" or not, the facts of

marked individual differences coupled with the facts of racial amalgamation raise problems which the culturalist can scarcely ignore.

Mr. Linton maintains that all higher cultures result from hybrid races, while the pure races do not produce the same high level of culture. We have, of course, a number of factors here. These include matters of the relative size of the groups, of large numbers versus small numbers, of the wider variability of ability in mixed groups and the possible biological values of outbreeding followed by partially selective inbreeding. There are, of course, the cultural inventions and contacts in relation to these features. Thus biological as well as cultural forces may well play a rôle in this phenomenon.

Before concluding this review, I wish to mention some other studies which have been made of racial and subracial groups. In my own studies of Italian, Portuguesc, and Spanish-Mexican children in comparison with children of the same age from parents of North-European ancestry, I found by correlations of language and non-language tests that not all the alleged differences in the abilities of these groups is due to language handicaps, as is so frequently claimed. The work of Miss Thomson and of other students of Terman upon Latins and upon Orientals bears this out. Recent studies by Yeung, Borncamp, Darsie, and others on Chinese and Japanese children in California, and the work of Smith in Hawaii indicate that the language handicap is a factor in the learning of the Oriental in English-speaking schools, but that this handicap only touches materials where language is of decided importance. In arithmetic and subjects where language does not operate, the Orientals equal and even excel the white children of older American (North-European) ancestry. On the contrary, the Italians and other Latins fall down in both language- and non-language-learning materials.

In spite of some disagreements, as in studies by Kirkpatrick in this country and Gordon in London, it cannot be gainsaid that there is much evidence for individual differences which operate independent of cultural status, and that, moreover, the mixture of persons of one group with low intelligence scores with persons of a group who possess higher ratings makes for fixing the intelligence or learning capacity of the mixed-blood group at an intermediate position between these extremes.

To conclude, I wish to maintain that we have in the study of social phenomena to take into account three factors: (1) Those of individual differences in racial groups and social classes. (2) The fact of what Thomas is wont to call "the run of attention," or the direction of the interests and habits of the members of the group in question. This, in turn, depends in the first instance upon the learning and attending capacity of the persons concerned, and here we find innate differences. In addition, this run of attention depends upon what I shall term the third major factor in the social process: (3) This is the cultural level of the group, that is, the arts, crafts, sciences, folkways of the race or class. Until the culturalist takes the facts of individual variation into account and until the biologist or psychologist recognizes the tremendous place of culture in the development of personality and group life, we shall get nowhere.

INTERNATIONAL ASPECTS OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

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ABSTRACT

International Aspects of the Russian Revolution.—A scientific gauge for measuring the international aspects of the Russian Revolution would require the overcoming of the following obstacles: (1) its extreme complexity, (2) compartment thinking, (3) the bias of class and of our social heritage, (4) nationalism, (5) propaganda, (6) the warping incident to news transference, and (7) surface thinking with its concomitant "praise or blame" attitude. Eliminating secondary testimony and also primary testimony from those with a motive to falsify and with a habit of stereotype thinking, there is agreement on certain significant facts: (1) in the circular process of stimulation, reaction, and restimulation between soviet Russia and foreign countries, the policies and attitudes of both have been changed, (2) the international instrumentalities established by the bolshevists appear much more formidable than they really are, (3) the soviet government has been successful in securing recognition from other governments, and (4) the results of this unique social experimentation have been both negative and positive.

Revolutions are, next to world-warfare, the most dangerous social explosions known to human experience. They involve such a tangled skein of forces that it is extremely difficult scientifically to appraise them. The Russian Revolution is exceptionally complicated because the reaction itself took place in the midst of a still more violent international metamorphosis, the world-war, when group minds were so inflamed by the sentiments and passions of the conflict that they had neither the patience nor the mechanism to appraise the situation with scientific accuracy. We now know that in every modern war truth is the first casualty. We have not yet achieved a scientific gauge for measuring the international effects of violent social change. Yet the social scientist painstakingly experimenting, counting and measuring, has reached the place where he sees clearly certain of the obstacles which he must overcome if he is to solve this problem. As applied to the Russian problem this would involve among others:

1. *Its extreme complexity.*—Tsaristic Russia was a gigantic country over twice as large as all Europe, with a population speaking one

hundred different languages or dialects, changing during a revolutionary period with kaleidoscopic speed. How can the truth be sorted out of the jumble of conflicting testimony?

2. *Compartment thinking*.—We give different weights to similar facts. We explain away injustice in America, such as lynching or negro disfranchisement, because we are familiar with it; we feel that terror or dictatorship in Russia is in an entirely different category.

3. *The bias of class and of our social heritage*.—Our opinions are refracted by the colored glasses of our experience. To judge Russian institutions by American concepts is completely to misconceive the situation.

4. *Nationalism*.—We are unwilling to face the truth that our nation may have been just as stupid in its treatment of the Revolution as the Revolution has been in treating us.

5. *Propaganda*.—The Bolsheviks have received more free advertising in a shorter space of time than any other political party since world-history began, but it has largely been false. Dr. E. A. Ross dedicates a book, "To my fellow-Americans who have become weary of being fed lies and propaganda about Russia." Once an anti-Bolshevik complex was firmly established in the public mind, Americans have enjoyed having their prejudices played upon. Hence it became profitable to retail every sort of slander about the Bolshevik government from "their deadly and dangerous red propaganda" to the "nationalization of women" story.

6. *The warping incident to news transference*.—While we have annihilated distance today by making communication instantaneous, in so doing we have enormously increased the chances of group misunderstandings. If the Bolsheviks should be overthrown tomorrow, the world would hear of it instantly and be powerfully affected by it. On the other hand, few people would know much of what actually happened. A piece of news has to run the gamut of a good many hands, each of which may unconsciously remake the item. As far as the scientific appraisal of the facts of the occurrence is concerned, we are still cut off by an Atlantic Ocean of prejudices and misinformation. This is just as true of the news Soviet Russia receives about America as of what America receives about Soviet Russia.

7. *Surface thinking with its concomitant emotional "praise or blame" attitude.*—Because of mental superficiality we tend to moralize about particular revolutionary actors instead of understanding the situations which produced them.

It is but a short step from emotional astigmatism to rationalization and unconscious deception. In the material world if something is radically wrong with a manufactured product, we do not destroy the article or burn the factory. Similarly, with serious social defects we should scientifically investigate rather than use blockades or armies. As a matter of fact, the cooler scientific judgment of the world now recognizes that the cause for the violent social explosion in Russia was the terrible maladjustment within the Tsar's empire. Conditions had been sociologically unsanitary and dangerous for a long age-span. Ever since the warning revolutionary stimuli of 1905, the world was apprised of the situation.

In spite of the difficulties it is possible to reach certain conclusions regarding the international effects of the Soviet experiment. In making such a searching scientific analysis it is necessary first to sort out agreements between all those witnesses who are competent. As Dr. Giddings has so admirably reminded us in his *Scientific Study of Society*, this involves eliminating the following:

1. *Hearsay or secondary testimony.*—As regards Russia this throws out all those Russians, such as Ambassador Bakmetieff, who have not been in Russia since the Bolsheviki assumed the power over seven years ago.

2. *Those who have a motive to falsify.*—This eliminates all those who lost position or property in Russia or who have been expelled from the country, as well as the individuals belonging to the Communist party.

3. *Those who are controlled by a complex, stereotype, or mastering idea.*—This eliminates certain "parlor" socialists both pro- and anti-Bolshevik.

Eliminating all of the above testimony and including only those who are intellectually competent, we find agreement on certain very significant facts:

First, there was a circular process of stimulation, reaction, and re-stimulation between Soviet Russia and foreign countries, and both were being changed by the process, Soviet Russia probably more

than the rest of the world. One international effect of the policies of the Soviet government was intervention by the Allies. There was the attack from the north with American and Allied soldiers; from the east with American, Japanese, and Czecho-Slovak soldiers; from the south by Denikin with Allied aid; from the south by Wrangel with Allied aid; from the west by Udenitch with Allied aid; and again from Poland with French bayonets. All of these processes changed the policies and action of Russia, and again these same reactions changed the policies and attitudes of the foreign countries. The Bolshevik government at first tried to keep peace with the Allies and secure recognition from them, as the testimony of the American ambassador, Francis, and Colonel Robins shows. Failing in this, after intervention had set in, the Bolshevik government enacted new and more radical decrees which markedly changed its behavior. Similarly in America, public sentiment against intervention grew to overwhelming proportions in those states which had a large number of American soldiers fighting in Russia against the Bolsheviks. Here we have clearly the familiar phenomena of interstimulation and response, of imitation, of suggestion, and of new group-reactions to a new stimulus.

Second, the Bolsheviks have established international instrumentalities:

a) *The Union of Socialist Soviet Republics*.—Composed of White Russia, Ukraine, Transcaucasia, Azerbaijan, Armenia, Georgia, and Soviet Russia, which itself includes ten autonomous republics and eleven autonomous areas.

b) *The Communist International*.—This organization would welcome within each state “an armed struggle for the overthrow of the international *Bourgeoisie* and the establishment of an international Soviet republic as a transition to the complete abolition of the capitalist state.” As time has gone on, the Russian governmental authorities have been less and less inclined to interfere in the internal affairs of other countries and more inclined to center all their efforts on holding and strengthening their position in Russia. At the Fourth Congress held in Moscow in December, 1922, there were delegates from all the leading countries of the world. The total membership was supposed to be over one million.

c) *The Red International of Labor Unions*.—An organization of

all the trade unions throughout the world who believe sufficiently in Communism to join. They claim a membership of over twelve millions.

d) *The Communist Youth International*.—This apparatus is designed to bind together the youth of the world who believe in Communism. It apparently has not had much success outside of Russia, for the total membership does not exceed 800,000, composed almost exclusively of Russians.

These agencies used by politicians to terrorize the gullible, appear very much more formidable than they actually are. For example, one outstanding leader of the Japanese trade unions privately stated that although they send representatives to the Red International they do not believe in Communism, and they also send delegates to the non-Communist international trade-union conferences. Their total membership is included as within the Moscow fold, but actually very few of their members believe in Communism. The fact is that as far as the world-branches of Communism are concerned they are largely a paper organization. They have members in every country, it is true, but little real strength. Their actual threat to the rest of the world lies chiefly in the extent to which, either within a nation or in its treatment by powerful outsiders, there exists such gross injustice and stupidity as to drive members into the Communist ranks on any terms. The extent to which Communism thrives in India, Germany, or elsewhere is to some degree a barometer of maladjustment, and hence of utility value.

Third, the Soviet government has been successful in securing recognition from other governments. Practically every important nation in the world has accorded such recognition except the United States, which cannot permanently maintain its exclusiveness. It seems probable that recognition has been accorded because in the complicated interdependence of our "great society" the isolation of such a large division as that of Russia is extremely difficult and even damaging to our interrelated and delicate financial mechanisms.

Fourth, as is true in the case of nearly all unique and startling social experimentation, there has been both a negative and a positive result. Any appraisal must still be largely subjective. It is impossible in a brief compass to list all the effects. On the debit side of

the ledger, among others, we have the age-long familiar practices of dictatorship by the few, suppression of freedom of speech and of press, still utilized in every country at times. The execution of political prisoners has ceased. There is the hostility of the government to religion, which no doubt has both a good and a bad effect. Although primarily an internal problem, this has its international ramifications and consequences. The Roman Catholic church has only recently taken cognizance of this policy by a strong declaration. There is no important governmental party outside of the Bolshevik which proclaims itself as frankly atheistic, nor is there any other group which attempts so vigorously to oppose certain of the religious values and superstitions and to substitute for these science, morality, and its own brand of culture. Within the nation there has also been the application of untried theories on a large scale by untrained and consequently incompetent administrators, with a consequent social wastage.

It is frequently charged that the Bolsheviks advocate peace and then maintain a colossal army. This accusation is unfounded. In proportion to population her army has only one soldier for every 200 inhabitants, whereas Poland has one for every 100, Roumania, one for every 82, France, one for every 60, and Finland—including her civic guards—one to every 28. When we recall that Russia must be prepared to face attack from all these countries, not to mention Japan, and that just two nations alone—Poland and France—with a population half as great as Russia, together maintain a larger standing army, it can readily be seen how difficult it is for the Soviet to reduce her army further unless other nations do likewise.

On the positive side, we have the fact that the Bolsheviks have so far completely prevented the return of the Tsar's autocracy, one of the most dangerous foes to democracy which the world faced in 1914. The land has also irrevocably been distributed to the peasants. The Bolsheviks have largely prevented the dismemberment of Russia and have recreated a great federated nation. Such a patriotic Russian as General Brusiloff, formerly commander-in-chief of the Russian armies, in talking to me in Moscow in 1921, reiterated time and again that while he was opposed to the Bolsheviks, he knew that they had prevented foreign countries from seizing her resources, and

that as between Russian Bolshevism and foreign exploitation he would choose the Soviet government every time. Russian propaganda undoubtedly helped to bring on the German revolution. I myself made a study of some of their propaganda work at first hand when, at the request of the American government, I sent into the German lines from Russia a million copies of President Wilson's *Fourteen Points of Peace*, a work which necessitated receiving official permission from the Bolshevik war minister. General Ludendorff of the German staff says that Bolshevik propaganda was the chief factor in bringing on the collapse of Germany. General Hoffman says, "It was Bolshevik propaganda that routed Germany from the East and then broke her morale and gave us this defeat and this revolution you now see ruining us." In the publication of secret treaties the Soviet government did the world an inestimable service, and may have helped to sound the death knell of that ancient device. While it is popular to point to the damaging effects of the Bolshevik advocacy of violence, we must not overlook the stimulus which the Soviet government gave, perhaps unconsciously, to the positive forces in the labor world. A number of the labor leaders in England have said that the consciousness that in Russia the workers had seized the power enormously helped the English labor party in appealing to the workers for support. It has certainly caused labor leaders in both England and America to examine carefully their program and tactics, to see that they were not committing the mistakes of Bolshevism. Recall the statements of Ramsay MacDonald and Samuel Gompers. We can safely conclude that there has been both a good and a bad influence of Bolshevism, and that we are not yet in a position to draw up the balance sheet.

Finally, we cannot appraise the Russian Revolution without comparing the motives of her leaders with those of our own. We have seen that while the Communist International does want to destroy capitalism, capitalism in its turn desires to destroy the Communist International. We should recognize that there are real differences in economic theory between the Russian rulers and the rest of the world. The Soviet government desires to build a nation in which all factories, mines, railways, and other means of production and distribution are owned by the people. Nevertheless a great deal

of their differences are a mere matter of words and revolutionary formulae. The international practices of Bolshevism are not as bad as some of their phrases and may be worse than others. We should get down below mere verbiage to the genuine likenesses and differences. When we do this we find that Russia no less than other nations desires the economic and intellectual well-being of her people. Americans should be no more alarmed over red language in the Communist International than of the bombastic language at a national political convention in our own land. A considerable amount of politics is to be found in both. We should distinguish also between the violently radical Bolsheviks and the rest of the party. The number enrolled in the various third internationals are like those in a third political party; many of them are merely liberals. The large majority do not even understand the real economic theory of Communism. In the early days of the Russian Revolution, the Bolsheviks may have been primarily interested in a world revolution; they now know that if Bolshevism is to endure, it must first make a successful demonstration in its own territory. In order to be successful, the problem of economic production must be solved. As Americans we are interested in the same problem; we should be able to co-operate at this point. The fact is that millions of dollars' worth of international trade is going back and forth between Russia and the rest of the world now.

In conclusion, while recognizing that we are not yet ready to pronounce historic judgments, we should endeavor as sociologists to look at the Russian Revolution from the long-range point of view. We are tempted to consider it in the light of the period since the Revolution. This inevitably warps our perspective. In reality we should remember that Bolshevism, including its international activities, is the logical reaction of the stimuli arising from the centuries of oppression under the Tsar's autocracy. It is too early to appraise the international effects of the explosive compound which has resulted, but it is safe to say that it has both constructive and destructive features. In the light of history it may well be that the phenomena of the Russian Revolution will be considered among the major developments of the twentieth century.

SOCIOLOGICAL FACTORS IN THE INTERPRETATION OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS: WITH SPECIFIC IL- LUSTRATIONS FROM SOUTHEASTERN EUROPE AND THE NEAR EAST

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ABSTRACT

Sociological Factors in the Interpretation of International Relations.—Science, so far as it has gone, indicates that the forces of the cosmos fall into two classes: those that make toward unification, and those that make against it; and that on the whole the trend has been toward the triumph of the former. This has been manifested in human society as well as in the physical world. Mankind has progressed from the primitive family as the unit of sovereignty to the modern nation, at each transition stage successfully solving the problems of adjustment peculiar to it. We are now in the stage of transition from nationalism to internationalism. This paper undertakes to indicate the problems peculiar to this transition stage by analysis of the factors—geographic, biologic, and social—responsible for international disunity as illustrated in Southeastern Europe. The conclusion is reached that the likenesses of men throughout the world are primary, and constitute a rational and fundamental basis for ultimate human unity; that their unlikenesses are secondary, and must not be regarded as constituting inevitable and permanent grounds for division.

A law of polarity seems to pervade the known world. The negative electrode stands over against the positive. The radiant tendencies of matter run counter to those which are gravitational. For every action there is an equal and an opposite reaction. The tendency to withdraw is matched by the tendency to approach. Katabolism vs. anabolism; dominance vs. recessiveness; repulsion vs. attraction; disintegration vs. integration: in every realm of science we recognize the conflict between the forces which make for unity and those which make for disunity. From one point of view the whole great general process of nature has been one of gradual subordination of the disunifying forces to those which unify.

Of the many trends discernible in the development of that curious thing we call civilization, one of the most striking is that of the increasing integration of its parts: group life tends toward enlargement. From the family to the clan, to the tribe, to the nation, to

federations of nations, the process of enlargement has gone on, marked at every step by the integration of a larger and larger number of constituent segments, and by their closer correlation.

This tendency is not peculiar to the social world. Long ago natural science pointed out that a principle of aggregation upon some basis of selection inherent in the aggregating particles is operative in the cosmosphere and the biosphere. Aggregations of correlated atoms compose molecules. Aggregations of correlated molecules compose masses. Aggregations of protoplasmic units under certain conditions compose life-cells. Aggregations of cells under certain conditions compose morphological bodies which, in their highest form, are human beings. The same general principle carried into the sociosphere accounts for that group life which it is the especial province of sociology to study.

Every stage in the long journey in social development from Pithecanthropus Erectus until our own day has been marked by certain constantly recurring features. Among these have been (1) the breaking down of former isolations; (2) the discovery of mutual likenesses, and an emphasis upon them rather than upon differences; (3) the discovery of the practical advantages of co-operative effort; (4) the discovery of consensual methods of adjustment, and their substitution for conflict methods; (5) the development of group structural forms competent to accommodate the enlarged body; (6) the development of a technique of action suitable to the interplay of the larger number of functional parts. *The whole of these together may be characterized as an increasing movement toward unity of larger and larger masses.* Wherever along the line a stable group life comes to prevail it means that some affective basis of unification has been found. Where it does not prevail the elements of division are still paramount. The smallest possible social grouping, that of two persons, must be accompanied by these features, as must the largest; and all the stages in between, if it is to endure.

At every juncture in group life of any kind the ultimate social problem is that of living together. This has been clearly pointed out by Professor Ellwood in his volume *The Social Problem*. Group life is at its best where this problem is most fully met. Other things being equal, the adequacy of group life for the needs of its members

varies in the degree with which this problem has been mastered. And obviously where the social integers (be they nations or individual persons) cannot live together, they cannot have group life. In other words, a social grouping of any sort is possible only when its constituent members have mastered this problem to some practical extent. The growth of human organization—itsself one of the most conspicuous trends of civilization—is a constant progression in the discovery of larger effective bases of unity.

All of this, simple as it is when stated, is vital to an understanding of international relations. Herein reside the sociological factors whose comprehension is essential to an analysis of situations between nations as between persons. For the first thing to be pointed out in approaching such a question is this: that *sociologically* international problems are nothing new nor different from those already familiar in the smaller and more easily studied human groups. Their differences from those of smaller groups are not of kind, but wholly of degree. They are more involved and intricate, because the machinery is more complex. They are sometimes more subtle, being hidden in a larger mass. They are more difficult of control by reason of their dimensions and momentum. But intrinsically they are the same.

The object of this paper is to present certain of these sociological factors as they are found in relations between nations. The field of illustration which has been selected is that of Southeastern Europe and such of the Near East as focuses about the Balkan area. Perhaps no other part of the world could better serve as an exhibit for the purpose. Not merely of recent years, but from time immemorial this arena has been one of unimaginable hatreds and strife. Herein have been concentrated factors of confusion little comprehended by the Western Hemisphere, whose variety and intensity make this an exhibit of unusual sociological value.

In this disturbed part of the world the divisive elements have so far had the ascendancy over those making for cohesion. Both intranationally and internationally this is strikingly true. We may examine the bases of the disunity of the Balkan peoples under three familiar headings: the geographic, the biologic (including ethnic), and the social.

I. GEOGRAPHIC FACTORS OF BALKAN DISUNITY

Both by geographic location and by topography the Balkan peninsula seems to have been predestined to conflict. Separated from Asia only by the silver thread of the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles, it has formed a natural bridge for the surging waves of migratory movement between the two continents. Although it is integrally a part of Europe, its great rivers and their wide-mouthed valleys have stood as open and inviting doorways to the restless Asiatic populations. At the same time her mountain walls have separated her from her own European *hinterland*. What more natural, therefore, than that the fierce hordes of Asia, restive from famines and pressure of rival peoples, from long before the days of Attila should have accepted her geographic invitation to enter? And having entered, that they should be met by resistance from the equally fierce mid-European peoples who resented this invasion? Furthermore, the internal structure of the region, intersected in every direction as it is by mountain ranges, has formed natural pockets and corners, which, once occupied, isolated its inhabitants from each other, and so led to the accentuation of their differences. Therefore the tendency has been in the direction of separation of life, with each group living in a world of its own, hostile to all other groups, and averse to any unification.

II. BIOLOGIC FACTORS OF BALKAN DISUNITY

The ethnic diversity in this part of the world is a Chinese puzzle. European has crossed with Asiatic at a dozen ethnic juncture points; Nordic has crossed with Mediterranean, and Slav has interpenetrated both in innumerable combinations, till any racial designation whatever has ceased to have meaning. The Bulgar is Alpine Slav mingled with Asiatic, Finnish, or Turkish blood. The Greek is Hellenic mixed with Nordic, changing to Mediterranean strains. The Roumanian, who claims to be Latin (something racially non-existent), is in reality Slav grafted onto Mediterranean and overlaid with Asiatic. The Hungarian is Magyar, which is Alpine plus Nordic plus Slav plus a dominant Asiatic element which almost conceals the first two. The Turk, who colors so many of the groups, is Mongolo-Tartar. While the Slavic element—itself a mixture—is the one most prominent

throughout the region. A census would reveal a greater conglomerate than that noted on the day of Pentecost: Armenian, Bulgar, Croat, Dalmation, German, Greek, Gypsy, Jew, Magyar, Montenegrin, Roumanian, Russian, Slav, Slovene, Turk, each in itself an inextricable composite of still other composites.

The evidence shows overwhelmingly that there exists little biological basis for national distinctions, yet there exists in every group mind an almost ineradicable notion that it is a sharply defined race, and, of course, superior to all other racial groups in its very physical essence.

III. SOCIAL FACTORS OF BALKAN DISUNITY

Many different parts of the world have contributed to the kaleidoscopic social background of the Balkans. Each people that has entered the territory has brought in its own language and culture and traditions as well as its racial self. These have been intensified by the isolation enforced by topographic barricades. Where there has been enough contact to allow interplay, these have produced other combinations, which have still further contributed to diversification of social heritage. Linguistically, they are represented by a score of tongues. Religiously, they pray in the name of Moses, of Mohammed, and of Jesus. Of the Christian group, those whose ancestors came most under the influence of Rome give allegiance to the Vatican, those whose forefathers were under Byzantine influence belong to the Greek Orthodox church, while those reaching nearest to Central Europe reflect the Reformation in various Protestant sects. Culturally, Rome and Byzantium still divide this part of the world between them, except where the scimitar of Mohammed has expelled both.

Sharper than the differences of language, religion, and culture are those produced by a historic past filled with mutual injuries, antagonisms, and strifes which give to the present generation a legacy of hatreds long since become traditional. In the many and dramatic turns of fortune's wheel a part, at least, of each of these states has at some time or other been under the domination of some other of these states. In a series of wars and their subsequent treaties which even a trained historian finds it hard to follow, shifts in boun-

dary lines have followed one another so rapidly as to be a map-maker's despair.

Every shift of borderline is a new Alsace-Lorraine to breed bitter dreams and plans of vengeance on the part of the loser, no matter how just may be the basis of transfer. Bulgaria mourns Dobrudja to the northeast and Macedonia to the south. Greece, although enlarged at the expense of Turkey and Bulgaria, mourns Epirus. The diminished remnant of Hungary can never forget that two-thirds of her territory and people were torn from her side. And Turkey, once the overlord of most of Southeastern Europe, considers its redistribution as robbery.

Furthermore, each territorial alteration has placed under the authority of the winning nation a minority population taken from some other. These minorities, despite the assurances of the treaties, have suffered the usual fate of minorities at the hands of their conquerors. Overt abuse, above and beyond the commonplace denial of ordinary justice, has been the lot of these border-zone residents. Thousands have had no recourse but to abandon homes and property—indemnified only to a fractional part of the true value—and seek refuge in what Venizelos of Greece calls "voluntary migration," beyond the shifted frontiers. Homeless by the change, impoverished to the point of starvation, angered to desperation by what they have undergone, these "voluntary" migrants constitute a perpetual seed-bed of international disturbance along the boundaries, their feelings shared by their nation as a whole. (In Bulgaria alone nearly 10 per cent of the population is composed of refugees from beyond her present borders.) Those who have not migrated—and it is impossible for all to do so—remain as unassimilated portions of a country toward which they are alien and hostile. (Roumania, for example, now has a total population of about seventeen millions, six millions of whom are non-Roumanians, chiefly from enemy countries. Another five million are "redeemed" Roumanians, who were subjects of other countries before the treaties added them to the revamped territory, but whose background of life and experience there was so different as to make them practically foreigners upon restoration to their own land.)

Perhaps this illustration (which might be interminably continued) has been carried far enough to drive home the point it was intended to convey.

The Balkans constitute an example par excellence of international disunity. Geographically, ethnically, linguistically, religiously, culturally, traditionally, politically, they stand apart from one another. Not only that, but in the realignment of boundaries, sections which would seem to belong together have been sundered; others have been unwisely wedded and seem already promising candidates for divorce. The treaty-makers, who declared themselves determined to remake Europe along lines of "natural" cohesion, were not equal to the task. Mr. Lloyd George himself is quoted as confessing the failure in saying recently, "We have Balkanized all that part of Europe."

Now if sociology has any message for the field of international relations which should be emphasized more than another, it is one that may be expressed in terms of the familiar geometric axiom: The whole is greater than any of its parts. And correspondingly, the interests of the whole are superior to the particular interests of any of its subdivisions. Hence, adjustment among human beings can never be considered final until it includes all men who have knowledge of one another. *Nationalism*, therefore, cannot be considered the final word in the Balkans or anywhere else in the world, because it thinks in terms of parts rather than of the whole. Any thinking we do in this field is incomplete which fails to include all mankind.

This carefully reasoned conclusion of sociology is tantamount to saying that *there exist among all men fundamental bases of unity*. This sociology firmly believes. It points to the logic of history, which reveals the unmistakable trend in this direction. It is a far cry from Cro-Magnon to a modern nation; but every step of the enlargement of the unit of political sovereignty has been the result of the discovery of mutual interests and likenesses that transcend the more immediately obvious differences and unlikenesses. Accepting the witness of the age-long human record, sociology says to all nations: *The likenesses of men throughout the world are primary and constitute a fundamental basis for unity; their unlikenesses are secondary, and must not be regarded as constituting inevitable and permanent grounds*

for division. This applies to international, as well as to lesser, relationships.

Let us clearly understand wherein human unity really resides. It is not found in geographic, nor biological, nor social conditions *per se*. It does not intrinsically reside in ties of kinship, nor in identity of language, nor religion, nor culture, nor territorial proximity. These things are not unity. They are merely conditions which, under certain circumstances, may give rise to unity. Unity itself is a psychic thing, a mental kinship. In the last analysis it is a harmonious mutual social attitude. Sociology must therefore tell the makers of treaties that they cannot create enduring states by a mere shifting of boundary lines. Even the deeply imbedded idea that ethnic identity constitutes in itself a "natural" basis of nationality must be discarded in the light of such facts as Southeastern Europe exhibits. The effective power to bind together the members of any group must come from within—not from without.

The substance of the foregoing pages may be epitomized in a series of statements:

1. The known forces of the universe fall into two divisions: (a) Those making toward harmonious unification of parts, and (b) those making against it.
2. On the whole, a distinctly discernible trend is noted toward the predominance of the former.
3. This same fact in human society manifests itself in the form of the constant enlargement of sovereign groups. Larger and larger masses of people are finding effectual bases for co-operative relationships.
4. The politico-social ideal should be that of all mankind harmoniously united and working consciously toward common ends. The necessary subdivisions of human kind should be merely those of differentiated parts properly geared into an effectively working whole, and not those of conflicting minor parts.
5. The larger the groups to be united, the more difficult is the solution of the problem, because the elements involved are more numerous, diverse, and complicated (Southeastern Europe has been offered by way of graphic illustration and partial explanation of this fact). But except in matter of complexity the stage of international unity, still ahead of us, does not differ from the simpler stages which we have already attained. Therefore, this problem—however difficult—is not insoluble.
6. But human unity, whatever the group, is essentially a psychic thing. It must rest upon the mutually recognized mental kinship of its members.

This mental kinship cannot be wrought mechanically by accident of territorial proximity. Ethnic and cultural similarities, important as they are, do not automatically constitute it. Mere political agglomeration will not, in and of itself, achieve it. The methods to be employed in its creation are not new. They are the ones made long since familiar in developing a national consciousness in our own heterogeneous American population: viz., (1) universal education, in order that the population may have a cultural basis of likeness; and (2) universal intercommunication, in order that people may become aware of that likeness.

Any method which leaves these out of account is foredoomed to failure.

POPULATION DENSITIES AND THE IMMIGRATION POLICY OF THE UNITED STATES

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ABSTRACT

Population Density and the Immigration Policy of the United States.—A comparison of the density of population in various countries shows that the United States has a much smaller population than other regions, as Southeastern Asia and Western Europe, which are in the same zone of optimum climatic conditions, and relatively to climate and resources, is less densely populated than those other regions in Europe and Asia outside the zone of optimum climatic conditions. So long as this condition continues, there will exist, as between the United States and the rest of the world, a state of unstable population equilibrium arising from the human tendency to move from more densely crowded to those less densely crowded regions which are as well situated as the more densely populated regions or better situated than them—a condition which the United States fulfils. Moreover, the multiplication of economic opportunities offered by a relatively sparsely populated area in the present industrialist period adds a powerful incentive for migration toward the United States.

Nevertheless, this unstable population equilibrium is being deliberately maintained by the present immigration policy of the United States, which by means of quota limitations and exclusion acts, seeks to maintain its favorable position by restricting or barring migrants from countries that are, absolutely or relatively, more densely populated.

Interference with the social forces controlling migration is bound to react profoundly upon the populations affected. In the present case, such a reaction would almost certainly give rise to widespread resentment, possibly to diplomatic and economic reprisals, and conceivably to conflict, provided the countries concerned could achieve unity of action. In such a conflict the relatively sparse population density of the United States would not prove an advantage, for it would be overwhelmingly outnumbered by those countries whose populations were affected by its immigration policy.

It is possible, but not probable, that a world-wide slackening in the birth-rate might indefinitely postpone the friction arising out of the American immigration policy. It is also possible that a "safety valve" might be provided by emigration to the Southern Hemisphere, or even to the polar and subpolar regions, but such an event would have to wait upon scientific discoveries, particularly relating to health and energy in tropical and polar regions, which are not at present in sight. An increased birth-rate in the United States would restore equilibrium, but friction would arise before this became effective. The situation would, of course, also be altered by a modification of the immigration policy of this country.

On July 1, 1924, the United States, after four years of experimentation and controversy, definitely embarked upon a restrictive immigration policy as regards Europe, the Near East, and Africa, and extended its policy of exclusion as regards the Orient. A summary review of the trend of immigration before and after the adop-

tion of this new policy serves to demonstrate how drastic it is and how profoundly it already has begun to react upon the migratory tendencies of the world's population. During the decade 1900-1910,¹ the net immigration to this country—the bulk of it from Europe—was about 5,365,000, or slightly under 55 per cent of the natural increase of the native population. During the three months following the beginning of the operation of the present immigration law, the net immigration was at the rate of 3,244,320 per decade, of which over half, or 1,898,310, represented immigration from Mexico, Canada, and other portions of the Western Hemisphere which are not now quota-limited, but which—as the Secretary of Labor has recently pointed out²—will presently have to be put under a quota to make the new restrictive policy completely effective. The total, exclusive of the immigration from the Western Hemisphere, was at the rate of only 1,346,010 per decade, or but about 13 per cent of the natural increase of the native population during the decade 1910-20.

There seem to have been two general motives underlying the very widespread popular sentiment to which this new policy gave expression. On the one hand, there was a belief that various nationality and racial groups were unsuitable for amalgamation with the American stock, and should, therefore, be restricted, or—as in the case of the Japanese—altogether excluded. On the other hand, there was the opinion that it was necessary drastically to reduce the increase in the American population attributable to immigration, in order to forestall the onset of an overcrowded population and the social and economic evils resulting therefrom. It is with this second feature of the American immigration policy that this paper is concerned.

The discussion falls under three heads: first, the population density of the United States as compared both absolutely and relatively with that of Europe and Asia; second, the effect of the comparative

¹ The decade 1910-20 was so affected by the world-war that it is valueless for comparative purposes. The figures for net immigration 1900-1910, and for population increase 1900-1920 are from Rossiter's Census monograph, *Increase of Population*. The data on net immigration since July, 1924, are calculated from the current bulletins of the United States Commissioner of Immigration.

² Associated Press dispatch, December 8, 1924, summarizing Annual Report.

population densities of the United States and these other regions upon the population equilibrium of the world; and third, the reaction upon the populations of these regions of the new American immigration policy.

Before proceeding to the development of the first topic, it is necessary to distinguish between absolute and relative population density. *Absolute* population density refers simply to the number of people dwelling in a given unit of land area—thus, so many per square mile or per square kilometer. *Relative* population density refers to the number of people dwelling in a given unit of land area compared with the number of people whom that area is capable of supporting. Thus, Arabia, with an absolute density of 4.1 per square kilometer, probably has a greater relative density than Iowa, whose absolute density is 16.5 per square kilometer. It need scarcely be added that absolute population density can be computed exactly, whereas relative density can be estimated only within broad limits.

Examination of the data relating to population density makes it clear that the United States has an absolute population density very much below that of similarly circumstanced regions in Europe and Asia, and that it probably also has a relative density lower than that existing in many of the less favorably circumstanced areas of these continents. Before proceeding to an examination of the statistical materials, however, it is necessary to indicate what countries are similarly circumstanced to the United States and what countries are less favorably circumstanced. To do so requires an *excursus* into the domain of climatology.¹

The United States is situated in what might be termed the belt of *optimum climatic endowment*. This belt includes all of the United States excepting the gulf coast and the arid West and Southwest; Southern Canada; West-Central Europe, excepting Northern Scandinavia; Southeastern Asia, particularly Japan; and, in the Southern

¹ The writer is relying here chiefly upon Huntington and Cushing's *Principles of Human Geography*, and Huntington's *Civilization and Climate*. The maps are taken from these works, and also from Bartholomew's *Atlas of Economic Geography*, and from Howarth's *A Commercial Geography of the World*, excepting the maps on population density which is from the *Annuaire Statistique*. The tables on population density and total population are from the *Aperçu Annuel de la Démographie* for 1922, while those on production are from the *Commerce Yearbook* for 1923. The writer is indebted to Professor F. W. Willcox of Cornell University for the loan of the *Annuaire Statistique* and the *Aperçu Annuel de la Démographie*.

Hemisphere, New Zealand, parts of Argentina and Chile, and the southeastern tip of Australia.

Three major factors enter into the superior climatic endowment of the United States and these other regions: first, temperature; second, precipitation and humidity; and third, variety. They affect human life, and, *pari passu*, population density in two ways: first, in the type and amount of agricultural products yielded; second, in the health and energy attainable by man for the prosecution of his daily tasks and for the adaptation of the environment to his needs.

As regards precipitation and humidity, the belt under discussion is provided with a moderate amount of rainfall spread fairly evenly throughout the year. Moreover, as contrasted with the Asiatic monsoon area, this region is assured of a fairly certain supply of moisture from year to year. As regards temperature, this belt, while experiencing great differences in heat and cold, does not suffer such extremes of either as do the equatorial and tropical regions on the one hand, and the polar and subpolar on the other. Variations of climate are of two sorts: those associated with seasonality, and those associated with the succession of cyclones and anticyclones that is a distinguishing feature of these regions. Seasonality allows, as just implied, wide differences of temperature, yet provides against unduly protracted periods of either heat or cold. It also makes possible interseasonal periods of moderate temperature. The succession of cyclones and anticyclones is not only the means by which this belt is provided throughout the year with moderate precipitation interspersed with intervals of clear weather, but is also the agency through which there proceeds an unceasing daily, and even hourly, variation in temperature, humidity, atmospheric pressure, and cloudiness.

The beneficial influence of these conditions upon agricultural production is so obvious as to require no detailed explication.

The influence of these climatic conditions upon human health and energy is less easily perceived. It is, of course, self-evident that the tropical, equatorial, and polar climates are less healthful than the temperate. The protracted cold and darkness of the arctic climate are hostile to human life, and the almost complete absence of vegetable life and of domestic animals forces upon the arctic dweller a scanty and badly balanced diet. On the other hand, in the equa-

torial and tropical regions, where bacterial and insect life, abound, the human system is liable to attack by any one of a dozen deadly diseases. Again, the protracted heat and the excessive humidity of the equatorial rain-forest and tropical jungle are powerful depressants to the vitality, while the foods to which man most frequently must resort are so lacking in protein and so swelled with water as to leave the body deficiently nourished and the digestive system seriously impaired.

Climate has, however, more subtle and far-reaching influences upon human life than those denoted by the presence or absence of positively deleterious elements, and it is to these less tangible factors that certain portions of the so-called temperate zone owe much of their climatic pre-eminence. As the investigations of Huntington and others have shown, there are certain optima of temperature and humidity that are most favorable to the maximum expenditure of human energy. For example, the optimum winter temperature is about 40° , and the optimum summer temperature about 64° . Reference to the temperature map shows that, in January, the 40° isotherm, and, in July, the 60° isotherm, run through the central portion of the United States, pass through West-Central Europe, and cross the northern portion of the Japanese archipelago. Again, moderate humidity such as these regions enjoy is favorable to nerve tone. Finally, the variability in these regions greatly increase energy potentiality. The cold of winter favors mental activity; the warmth of summer favors physical activity; and the moderate temperature of spring and fall promotes an all-around heightening of vitality. Again, the daily and hourly changes of temperature, cloudiness, and the like, have a powerful tonic effect on physical and mental energy. In sum, the regions of optimum climatic endowment not only make possible the largest yields of the best sort of agricultural products, but they also provide man with a capital of health and energy sufficient to enable him to make the most of the agricultural and other resources open to him.

One further observation must be made concerning these regions of optimum endowment. They are fairly restricted in area. The Southern Hemisphere in general is very badly off in this respect. Africa is for the most part athwart the equator or the dry subtropics.

South America bulges in its equatorial belt and tapers sharply toward its temperate belt. Most of Australia is either equatorial rain-forest or subtropical desert. Again, even in the so-called north temperate zone, there are extensive mountain and continental desert areas both in the United States and in Asia, particularly in the latter, the bulk of the interior of which is deficient either in food-yielding or energy-producing qualities. There are left as really well-endowed countries only the regions named above, namely, most of the United States, Southern Canada, West-Central Europe, Japan, New Zealand, and fractional portions of South American and Australia.

The extent of the favorable endowment of these regions may be inferred from a rapid survey of their economic productivity. The production maps for wheat and cattle all reveal a striking concentration of production in these regions. More remarkable is the composite map for wheat, maize (or corn), and rice, which allows for the variations in agricultural methods and dietary standards in different regions of the world. Turning from maps to tables, one obtains much the same impression as to the superior productivity of these regions. Thus in 1909-13, the nine regions—United States, Russia in Europe, Canada, Hungary, Argentina, Germany, Roumania, Austria, and the British Isles, all of them included in the belt of optimum climatic endowment—produced 2,308,242,000 out of a world-total of 3,705,604,000 bushels of wheat, or about 62 per cent of the world-crop. In passing, it might be observed that wheat is not native to this belt, but originated in the semi-arid and subtropical regions; its extensive cultivation in the regions under discussion being an evidence of their superior crop-producing capacities. The world potato-crop is a yet clearer example of this tendency. Out of an average world-crop for the years 1909-13, of 5,407,033,000 bushels, these same nine countries together with France raised 4,449,839,000 bushels, or 83 per cent of the total.

Mineral production shows even greater concentration. For example, in 1920, the six regions—United States, United Kingdom, Germany, Japan, France, and Belgium—raised 1,160,235,509 metric tons of coal and lignite out of a world-production of 1,319,100,000 metric tons; that is, 87 per cent of the total. The accident of location of the coal deposits has had something to do with this concentration, but the superior energy available for the mining of the coal in these

regions, and, above all, the more advanced civilization arising from this superior energy and from their superior agricultural productivity have probably had an even greater influence. In this connection, it may be observed that Huntington and Cushing point out that, although iron ore is one of the most widely distributed of all mineral deposits, yet the actual production of iron is confined almost entirely to the United States and to West-Central Europe.

Since an abundant population is a natural consequence of high agricultural productivity and advanced industrialization, these same regions of optimum climatic endowment are among the most densely populated in the world. Thus, the three continents containing the three best favored regions, namely, Europe, Asia, and North America, lead in population density, albeit North America, for reasons to be discussed later, trails as a very poor third. It is within the continents, however, that the pre-eminent population density of the better-favored regions is most strikingly revealed. In Europe, with an average density of 45.0 per square kilometer, thirteen of the fifteen regions having a density of more than 60.0 per square kilometer, lie squarely in the belt of optimum climatic endowment. Of the two remaining, one, Portugal, is on the edge of this belt, while the other, Italy, has its northern portion well within it.

In Asia the situation is not quite so well defined. Of the four regions with a density of over 60.0 per square kilometer, only one, namely, Japan, is clearly within the optimum belt. The other three are in the monsoon area where, particularly under the leadership of governing classes from the more energetic peoples of West-Central Europe, considerable population density may be achieved, although the quality of agricultural products raised and the climatic conditions yield insufficient health and energy for a progressive civilization. Moreover, it is to be noted that, excepting for the semi-urbanized and territorially insignificant Straits Settlements, none of these monsoon regions can compare in population density with the better-endowed West-Central European regions. In Oceania, leaving out of account islands of less than 50,000 square kilometers, New Zealand shows the greatest density. In Central and South America and Africa territorial divisions are so unequal in size and so arbitrary in nature that detailed comparisons are valueless.

North America shows the same tendencies as Europe, the United

States having a density of 13.5 per square kilometer, as against 7.0 for Mexico and 0.9 for Canada. Furthermore, if the arid and semi-arid mountain states are left out of account, the density of the United States rises to 18.8. Moreover, within the United States it is the better-endowed Middle and South Atlantic and North-Central states which show the highest density, and this despite the priority in settlement and early development enjoyed by certain of the New England states.

Of far greater significance, however, than the correspondence between population density and climatic endowment in the United States is the sparsity of its population as compared with similarly endowed portions of Europe and Asia. The absolute density of the United States, leaving out of account the mountain states, is smaller than all of Europe and all of Asia, the figures being 18.8, 45.0, and 24.2 per square kilometer, respectively, and this in spite of the fact that Europe contains extensive subpolar areas and Asia both sup-polar and desert areas. An even greater discrepancy appears when the United States is compared with the fifteen most densely populated regions of Europe whose climatic endowment is most similar to that of this country. Their average is 104.9 per square kilometer, while that for the United States, less the mountain states, is 18.8. Again, if the five most densely populated areas of Europe, Asia, and America are compared, Europe is seen to range from 251.4 for Belgium to 124.2 for Italy; Asia, from 213.2 for Straits Settlements to 38.6 for China; but the United States, only from 186.9 for Rhode Island to 74.6 for Pennsylvania. Let it be repeated, the United States is one of the best-endowed regions, climatically reckoned, in the world. It is, in all probability, capable of supporting as many persons per square kilometer as Germany or Switzerland, or Hungary, if not England or Belgium or Holland, and is almost certainly capable of supporting a denser population than Japan. But its actual density, not counting the arid and semi-arid states, is less than that of European Russia, and only slightly more than that of Siam. Even when the ten most densely populated states of the United States are taken together, their aggregate density comes only to 51.1 per square kilometer, which is less than that of Lithuania and only slightly above that of Bulgaria, and, while higher than that of China, is still

below that of India. That is to say, the absolute population density of the United States is very much lower than that of equally, or even much less well, endowed regions in Europe and Asia. Putting the situation in terms of relative density, it would seem that, if the relative density of West-Central Europe were taken as 100, the relative density of the United States would be somewhere between 25 and 50. As stated above, it is impossible to assign exact magnitudes to relative population density with any accuracy. Nevertheless, it appears certain that, compared with West-Central Europe and Southeastern Asia, the relative density of population in the United States is low; and it is more than probable that compared with the remainder of Europe and Asia it is also low.¹

This survey of the comparative population density of the United States, Europe, and Asia, may, therefore, be summarized as follows: Although possessing a climatic endowment ranking with the two or three best in the world, and, therefore, capable of supporting one of the densest populations in the world, the United States has a population density that is only moderate and that is very much below that of similarly endowed countries.

It might be objected here that undue attention has been paid to climatic endowment as compared with soil fertility, mineral wealth, and the like. To this it may be replied that, considering the agricultural and mineral productivity of this country during the past hundred years, there can be little doubt but that it is at least as well endowed in these respects as the regions with which it is being compared; and if, as is likely, it is better endowed in some of these respects, the discrepancy between its potential and actual population-density is even greater than has been indicated.

The effect of this situation upon the population equilibrium of the world may be readily perceived. It may be taken as a general principle that population tends to flow from regions of relatively high population-density to those of relatively low population-density. It may be taken as a second general principle that, so long as any considerable area of the earth remains in which the relative

¹ Pearl assigns about 200,000,000 as the upper limit of American population growth. This would agree roughly with the estimate of 50 for its present density, made in the text. Cf. East, *Mankind at the Crossroads*, p. 151.

population density is low, the population equilibrium of the world will be unstable, and will remain unstable until migration from the relatively more densely populated regions shall have brought its density up to a level close to, if not equal with, their own. In more concrete terms, the original settlement of this country and the subsequent immigration to it are largely explicable as the response of the populations of Europe and—to a lesser degree—of Asia to the unstable population equilibrium growing out of the relatively low population-density of this country. And in the future this tendency must continue; the people of Europe and Asia must continue to desire and to seek homes in the United States until it is about as thickly settled as the similarly circumstanced countries in the older continents.

Nor must it be forgotten that the United States is the largest single factor in the present unstabilized condition of the world-population. There are plenty of regions in South America, Africa, or even Asia where the *absolute* population density is low, but it is to be doubted if their *relative* density is lower than, or even as low as, that of the United States. True, Southern South America, New Zealand, and Southeastern Australia are probably relatively as sparsely populated as this country, but their area is very restricted; Southern Canada, which is also of high potential and low actual density, is greater in extent, and is, in fact, practically a part of the United States population area. The United States and the adjoining Canadian provinces constitute, therefore, the area toward which the bulk of migration pressure is directed.

Brief reference may be made here to the alleged dominance of economic motives in immigration to the United States. It has long been asserted that the higher wages, better standards of living, more rapid industrial expansion, and—in an earlier generation—greater amount of available land in this country than in Europe and Asia have been the leading factors in American immigration. All this is true enough, but these factors themselves are only the reflection of a low relative population-density. Easily available land depends directly on this condition; high wages and standards of living depend upon the high margin of cultivation due to this condition; and rapid industrial expansion is largely the result of the exploitation of abundant natural resources by a relatively sparse population. In short,

America has offered favorable economic opportunities to prospective settlers simply because it is relatively less crowded than the countries from which these settlers have migrated.

The reaction of the new immigration policy of the United States upon the populations of these more densely peopled countries may now be considered. A restrictive immigration policy opposes a fundamental and irrepressible—one might almost say, irresistible—tendency on the part of these populations to improve their condition by migrating to this, the outstanding region of high natural endowment and relatively low population-density remaining in the world. If this policy is long maintained, it is bound to react unfavorably upon the economic and social welfare of these peoples, and to arouse their resentment.

One further point must be noted in this connection. So long as European immigration was merely regulated and not restricted, a policy of drastic restriction of Oriental immigration could be carried on without much friction. The country was rapidly being filled up, and the world population equilibrium was in the way of being brought into balance; only the process was being carried on by one rather than another set of peoples. Now, however, that the policy of Oriental exclusion has been extended to Japan at the same time that severe restriction has been imposed upon Europe, the friction resulting from Oriental exclusion may be expected to increase. That is, the United States has put up the bars against all of Europe and Asia, albeit the bars are higher toward Asia than toward Europe; and all of Europe and Asia, in so far as they are relatively more densely populated than the United States, have a common grievance against it. The United States is, in effect, fencing off a portion of the earth's surface—and one of the fairest portions—and is saying to the rest of the world that it intends to maintain indefinitely the favored economic and social conditions which its inhabitants enjoy because of their relatively low population-density, the rest of the world getting along as best it may, so long as its inhabitants keep away from the United States or arrive in just such numbers as the United States may choose. Legally and ethically, the United States may or may not find justification to adopt such a policy. The fact remains that such a policy adversely affects the vital interests of millions of people in the relatively more densely populated portions

of the globe, that those people are bound to resent it, and that they are more than likely to take measures to break it down.

Are there any other courses of events that may ensue than the one just outlined? There are two, though neither appears to be within the limits of present possibility. First, science might devise ways of rendering the less-endowed regions capable of supporting a fairly dense population, and so converting them to areas of high potential and low actual density. If such a transformation were to take place, a part, at least, of the pressure of migration would move toward these regions and away from the United States. Yet science must not only improve the healthfulness of these regions, but must also increase their food-raising and energy-yielding capacities to bring this about, and there is no immediate prospect that this three-fold task is near accomplishment.

In the second place, the birth-rate of this country might adjust itself to the slackened immigration, and so increase as to cause the country to be filled up, and the unstable population equilibrium removed about as rapidly as if no restriction had taken place, the only difference being that the increasing population density would come almost altogether by excess of births over deaths, and not merely in part from this cause, as at present. In the long run, this might very well take place, always provided that artificial limitation of families does not become so widespread as to upset the normal tendencies of population growth. But, on the other hand, before this change could come about, the reactions to the American immigration policy might well have assumed serious proportions. Also, it must be remembered that the excess of births over deaths is showing no diminution, to say the least, in Asia, whose absolute density increased by 3.5 per square kilometer in the decade 1910-20.

It goes without saying that a modification of the new immigration policy of the United States, or even the failure to apply it to migrants from the Western Hemisphere, would once more release the forces tending to restore the population equilibrium of the world, and so resolve the conflict of interests discussed in this paper.

NOTE.—This paper in slightly expanded and altered form, together with the maps, charts, and tables shown on the stereopticon screen during its original reading, have been printed by the University of Buffalo, and may be obtained by application to the Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences.

THE NEED FOR IMPROVED CHILD-WELFARE STATISTICS

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ABSTRACT

The progress of child welfare depends upon adequate statistics with which to define problems, analyze causes, and test results. Complete birth statistics are needed to throw light upon the growth of population, the problems connected with illegitimate births, the quality of confinement care, and upon the conditions which affect infant mortality. Data are needed to show pathological and underlying causes of deaths in infancy and early childhood, and to indicate progress in prevention not only of mortality but also of morbidity and of physical defects. Statistics of accidents to children in the home, on the streets, and in industry are needed for use in guiding prevention. Data on the extent of delinquency and dependency, on their causes, and on methods of care of dependent and delinquent children are needed for an understanding of these social problems and of the changes which are taking place in them. Statistics of the prevalence of child labor and of the evils which it causes are needed to show the urgency of measures for its control.

The past fifteen years have seen a great improvement in child-welfare statistics. This improvement has not been confined to any one phase of child welfare, but characterizes to a greater or lesser degree all aspects of the subject. The present paper is designed to take account of stock, as it were, of these statistics. Are our present statistical resources adequate, what gaps are there which need to be filled, and in what directions do we need more data?

Fundamentally, we need such resources not for their own sake but for use in the solution of our social problems. What are the principal problems of child welfare in regard to which we need statistical data? What data do we need in order to be able to control these problems? These are the fundamental questions to be answered; and in the light of their answers we must determine whether our present statistics are adequate, and how they should be developed so as to approach more closely to our requirements.

The problems to the solution of which statistics should be directed concern the welfare of some forty million children under eighteen years of age, taking a fairly broad definition, in the United States. Any complete consideration of all such problems would far exceed

the limits of a single paper. We shall select, therefore, for discussion certain aspects of the statistics relating to a few outstanding topics: births, mortality, health and physical condition, accidents, defects, dependency, delinquency, and child labor. We shall omit entirely from consideration education, physical, mental, and moral growth and development, family statistics, mothers' pensions, and many other specific problems as to which adequate statistics are equally necessary.

Problems which are directly concerned with the number and distribution of births include those associated with the decline in the birth-rate, its causes and consequences, with differential birth-rates in different social and economic classes, with size of family, with the eugenic development of the population, and many others. Child welfare is closely bound up, for example, with the economic condition of the families into which children are born, and with the number of children in the family. The circumstances surrounding births may give rise to problems which vitally affect the welfare of children. Whether a child is legitimate or illegitimate affects not only his chances of happiness but also his chances of life. The problems of survival or death of children are among the most important for which statistics of births are needed.

With regard to this subject it will be agreed that we ought, first of all, to know the number of births that occur each year. We do not know this number exactly, though we can estimate it roughly at 2,500,000. Such an estimate is based upon records for the birth-registration area, which comprises states in which registration is accepted by the Bureau of the Census as at least 90 per cent complete. This area now includes thirty-two states and the District of Columbia, and three-fourths of the population of the country.

Remarkable progress has been made in statistics of births during the past ten years. Beginning with the year 1915, the birth-registration area has grown from ten states and the District of Columbia with 31 per cent of the population in 1915 to thirty-two states and the District of Columbia with 75 per cent of the population in 1924.

But even today we are ignorant of the number of births in sixteen states, comprising one-fourth of the population, for which registration fails to come up to the standards set for admission to the

area. We can be satisfied with nothing less than complete birth registration. It is a disgrace that a nation which considers itself civilized should have such defective records of births.

Not only do we need to extend the birth-registration area, but even within the area we need more complete and accurate statistics. The acceptance of a state by the Bureau of the Census does not mean that the data are complete, but merely that the omissions are judged, on the basis of more or less satisfactory tests made at the time of admission and in some cases also later, to be less than 10 per cent. At the present stage of development we need data to show the accuracy of these statistics, to test the proportion of omissions. These tests should be made annually. A comparison of birth registration in 1919 with the results of the census enumeration of population under one year of age at the close of that year, in conjunction with statistics of infant deaths and with a special test made in the District of Columbia, leads to the conclusion that in 1919 the omissions of births averaged 8 per cent for the entire registration area, and in the different states varied, so far as could be judged by the evidence at hand, from nearly zero to 19 per cent.

Such tests are needed to check up and to correct conclusions which may be based upon these statistics, for example, conclusions as to the decline in the birth-rate, as to relative rates among white and colored, as to relative rates in different sections of the country, and as to relative rates of infant mortality. In 1920, for example, the birth-rates for the colored population, compared state for state with those for the white population, indicated that the rates for colored were, on the average, below those for whites. Was this due simply to a larger percentage of omissions or of errors affecting the statistics of colored births? Birth registration, in general, probably improves from year to year. Since registered births are used, for example, in calculating infant-mortality rates and since an improvement in registration appears in an apparent decrease in these rates, it is important to know how great this improvement is in order to correct the apparent trend in the rates of infant mortality. The improvement of registration in the birth-registration states of 1915 during the period from 1915 to 1921 may be estimated, for example, at 2.9 per cent.

Three items on which information is now available from birth

records but which have not hitherto been tabulated on any comprehensive scale offer possibilities for immediate development. Whether or not the birth occurred in a hospital is a question the answer to which is contained on the birth certificates, but no statistics on this point are available except for a few localities. In some cities for which the data have been tabulated, for example in Minneapolis, the statistics show a marked change during recent years in the proportion of births in hospitals. During this period a decided improvement has taken place in hospital facilities for confinement cases. The statistics throw light, therefore, upon a very significant change affecting the quality of confinement care, which directly influences the health and chances of life of children as well as of the mothers.

A second question which bears upon the same problem is whether the birth was attended by a physician. On this point, also, the available data have been tabulated for a few localities and states; they show interesting contrasts between different races and nationalities and between different sections of the country; over a period of years, in certain communities, important changes have taken place in customs regarding attendance at birth. Such data ought to be made available for the entire country in order that the nature of the problem, its local variations, and the changes taking place in it may be more fully appreciated.

Other items needed for statistical purposes should be added to the original records. Among these may be mentioned that of whether the child was born prematurely—an item which throws light upon the physical condition at birth—and the interval of time since the preceding birth or, in case of a first birth, the interval since marriage. Information on this latter point would be invaluable in a study of the spacing of births, which appears to have an important effect on infant mortality, and statistics of the spacing of births would be of great interest also as an indication of the prevalence of voluntary control over the birth-rate.

The high mortality during the first year of life has been and still is one of the major problems of child welfare. In 1915, according to the statistics for the birth-registration area, 10 per cent, or one hundred out of every thousand of all children born died under one year

of age. Although this proportion has been greatly reduced, the rate is still 76 per 1000. In an estimate of the future prolongation of life which might be achieved by making universal the results which have been obtained in some localities, Dr. Dublin uses the figure of 38 per 1000 as an attainable infant-mortality rate. This figure is exactly one-half the rate of the birth-registration area in 1922. In passing, it may be noted that New Zealand's rate in that year was 42, only four points higher than Dr. Dublin's estimate.

Death statistics in this country are somewhat better developed than birth statistics, although in comparison with the mortality statistics of other countries they must be regarded as backward. Eighty-two per cent of the population is included in the death-registration area, for which annual statistics are published. But so far as infant mortality is concerned the statistics are limited, in effect, to the area for which adequate birth statistics are available, since to calculate infant-mortality rates deaths under one year of age must be related to births.

As in the case of birth statistics, we need complete and accurate data on mortality if we are properly to appreciate our problems. Statistics showing the rates of mortality in different localities and in different nationalities indicate where the problem is most acute and hence where preventive measures are most needed. Data showing the causes of infant mortality and the conditions and circumstances which accompany high and low rates are also invaluable as showing the specific evils which methods of prevention should be designed to attack, and to study the effect of preventive measures.

Possibilities of immediate development are offered by two items which are at present available on the original death-records but which have hitherto not been utilized. We ought to have information in regard to the quality of certification of the causes of death—whether by a physician or by some other person. Probably in most cases the certificate is signed by a physician, but we ought to know not only the proportion of cases in which it is signed by someone else, but also—a point not now included in the records—whether a physician was in attendance prior to the death. This information would assist us in appraising the statistics of causes and at the

same time would give us valuable data on the medical care of young children.

A second point which should be tabulated is the year of birth. If death statistics were analyzed both as to age at death and as to the calendar year of birth, it would be possible to follow in the statistics each annual cohort of births through life, and thus to obtain accurate probabilities of dying at each year of age. Any other method is subject to errors arising from fluctuations in the number of births occurring in each year.

Much valuable data on the conditions which produce infant mortality could be obtained by linking up information on birth certificates with that on death certificates of infants under one year of age, either by matching the records and transferring the data from one to the other prior to tabulation or by providing spaces for original entries on the death certificate in the same form as those on the birth certificate. Among such items may be mentioned legitimacy, interval since preceding birth, order of birth, single or plural birth, prematurity, data relating to the physical condition and care of the mother before the confinement, and data in regard to the economic environment into which the child was born.

In regard to legitimacy, for example, the statistics of mortality would yield data bearing upon the influence of conditions to which illegitimate children are exposed in contrast to those which surround legitimate children. The mortality rate forms, as it were, a criterion by which to test and judge these conditions. With accurate data on this subject—and there are difficulties, it will be agreed, in obtaining such data—it would become possible to trace the influence of preventive measures adopted in order to better the lot of the child born out of wedlock. The United States is one of the few countries without comprehensive statistics as to the mortality of illegitimate children.

Special statistical studies, such as those made by the Children's Bureau, of the influences which affect the chances of life of illegitimate children, are, of course, also necessary. The separation of the child from his mother, for example, is, in case of illegitimate children, a very important factor in infant mortality among them.

In connection with the subject of infant mortality, the need for

statistics showing the scope and effect of preventive work should be emphasized. It should be possible to measure, by means of statistics of the changing proportions of children artificially fed, the results obtained through educational work directed toward decreasing the prevalence of artificial feeding. We need statistics showing the proportion and the ages of children who are reached by infant-welfare centers in order to test whether such centers are adequately meeting the situation. We need to know what proportion of children are actually brought under the influence of the measures designed to protect them; what proportions of mothers receive adequate care before and at birth; what proportion of mothers receive instruction in child care. Data on these points would prove of great value in evaluating the work already under way and in stimulating to greater efforts.

The problems of mortality among older children are less serious than those of mortality among children under one year. But we need statistics in regard to the extent and causes of these deaths. We ought to know what proportion of them are preventable and how they can be prevented. The available data indicate the great importance during this age period of communicable diseases as causes of death. They suggest also the importance of "external causes," accidents, as a factor in mortality. This subject leads, therefore, directly to the consideration of statistics of morbidity and of accidents.

The problems which arise in connection with morbidity can be stated very simply. We ought to know the extent of disease and its consequences, and the character and extent of preventive work and its effectiveness. In the first place, we need data to show the incidence of each of the important contagious diseases and the fatality rates at different ages. One source of such statistics is the compulsory reports of these diseases made to local health officers; unfortunately these records are, in most places, far from complete. Another source of information concerning illness from these and other causes is the records of absences from school in conjunction with the records of medical inspections of school children; the United States Public Health Service has in progress an extensive study of morbidity among school children in Hagerstown, Maryland. Another possible

source is a sickness census; the scope of such a census, however, is distinctly limited. Hospital records also offer possibilities for study. The administrative statistician who attempts to obtain accurate data on these subjects, it will be conceded, has some knotty problems to solve. Fortunately, in testing preventive methods reliance need not be placed wholly upon statistics of sickness, since changes in prevalence or in the fatality of diseases are reflected also in statistics of mortality.

Of no less importance are statistics relating to the scope and effectiveness of methods of prevention. We need information in regard to vaccination; unfortunately within recent years less and less attention appears to have been paid to vaccinating children against smallpox, with the result that a recent press release of the Public Health Service asserted that the United States ranks third among the principal countries in prevalence of this serious disease. We need data, not only as to the proportion of children who are vaccinated, but also as to the ill effects of vaccination, if any, and new data concerning its effectiveness, in order that there may be available for the doubters fresh and convincing evidence. In the new methods for preventing diphtheria, we need data on the number and proportion of children who are subjected to the Schick test and to the immunization procedure, in order that the possible results of the general introduction of these measures may be properly evaluated.

We need to know more than we do about the physical quality of our child population. But the statistician who desires to assess the physical fitness of children has serious difficulties to overcome; for example, difficulties in establishing uniform standards of diagnosis. It may prove impossible to obtain such data accurately. Yet even data subject to a considerable margin of error, such as the draft records of men called to service, or the records of physical defects found in children under six years of age who were weighed and measured and whose defects were noted by physicians during the "Children's Year" campaign may prove invaluable in awakening the public mind to the need for remedial work. Except for such general surveys as may be feasible in connection with some such campaign, statistics of minor physical defects have to be based largely upon the records of school physicians. Records of physical examinations

made, in some states, as a preliminary to granting employment certificates, if standardized and if not perfunctory, might also be utilized for statistical purposes.

Statistics relating to the remedial measures taken for these defects would be valuable as indicating the scope of preventive measures. Among such defects are defective teeth. A very large proportion of children of school ages—it is estimated as high as 95 per cent—have one or more decayed teeth. We need data showing not only the prevalence of these defects but also to what extent they are being remedied, and how adequate or inadequate are our resources for remedying them; in other words, statistics concerning their correction.

Passing over the broad fields of normal growth and development, physical, mental, moral, including such data as those relating to heights and weights at different ages, we turn to the statistics of accidents. We need statistics of accidents, fatal and non-fatal, accidents at home, in the streets, and in industrial establishments. We have a fairly complete record of deaths from accidents in the registration states; it shows that about one-third of all fatal accidents occur to children. But only fragmentary data are available in regard to non-fatal accidents, such as those for New York City, for example, where over ten thousand accidents to children under sixteen are reported to the police each year. There is a general impression, gained from newspaper reports, that a large number of children are killed and injured in traffic accidents. We need to know more about the causes of these, and about why the children were in the streets where they could be injured; whether, for example, it was because of lack of playgrounds. We have almost no data on home accidents except such as relate to deaths from poison, from burns, and from other causes.

Industrial-accident statistics for the most part do not distinguish ages, so that we are practically without information as to whether in industry in general the risk of accident is greater or less to child than to adult workers in the same occupations. In regard to these accidents information is needed in order to provide a statistical basis for protective legislation. Accidents to children, if found to be particularly serious, may be prevented by limiting the ages at which

children may be employed, and by restricting their occupations in such a way that work on dangerous machinery or in dangerous processes is prohibited. Such legislation should, of course, be based upon an analysis of the statistics of industrial accidents.

Many social and economic problems arise in connection with the care of defective, dependent, and delinquent children. In regard to these classes we ought to know how numerous they are, how they are cared for, and whether the care provided is adequate and satisfactory.

With regard to the so-called dependent and neglected children, the principal problem is that of insuring that they do not suffer in their physical, mental, or moral development because of the handicaps to which the breakdown of family responsibilities on the part of the father, mother, or both, has exposed them. We need statistical evidence to show the number of such children, the reasons why they are dependent or neglected, and the methods of care. More and more the child-care societies are turning away from the idea of placing children in orphanages or other institutions, and are placing them in carefully selected and supervised family homes.

The need for more adequate statistics of dependent children is illustrated by our very ignorance of the magnitude of the changes in social policy which are being carried out. We need statistics to show accurately the scope of these changes in methods and the advantages and disadvantages of each mode of care. Some interesting researches have been made, for example, into the relative physical development of children living in institutions as compared with that of children living in family homes. A comprehensive study to show the relation between the type of care and the physical, mental, and moral development of dependent children would be a most valuable addition to our statistics of this subject.

A hopeful development in the statistics of dependent children is the adoption by a number of state boards of control of a system of compulsory reporting of children received in institutions or by child-care societies. Such a system, if successfully developed, would result in a continuous registration record of all dependent children in the state. Such records should furnish invaluable data, not only in regard to the numbers of such children, but also in regard to many

other points—age, cause of dependency, condition of family from which received, type of care, and type of placement. Information in regard to the ages at which children are brought to the attention of an agency or institution, in conjunction with whether the cases are first or later applications, would furnish evidence concerning the incidence of dependency.

Statistics are also needed to show the history of dependent children over a period of years. What becomes of them? What influence, if any, do the conditions of dependency exert over their later development? In such studies the records of central boards would prove a valuable point of departure.

The development of these records of central agencies in the different states suggests immediately the importance of having their statistics analyzed and tabulated by a federal agency. In time a registration area for such statistics might be established similar to the birth- and death-registration areas. In this way uniformity could be secured and the statistics would grow more and more comprehensive and would more and more adequately fill our needs.

With regard to delinquency the need for statistics is obvious. How many juvenile delinquents are there? Are they mostly in cities or are they equally distributed between city and country? In what types of courts are their cases heard—juvenile courts or other types? What kind of delinquencies bring children before the courts? What are the causes which tend to produce delinquencies? What kind of parental control do the parents of juvenile delinquents exercise? Are special conditions, such as divorce, unhappy family life, or the mental or moral unfitness of one or both parents, responsible for juvenile delinquency?

Special emphasis should be laid upon the fact that the most important point in connection with statistics of juvenile delinquency is not the number of cases but the number of children concerned. First offenses, therefore, should be carefully separated from all other offenses. Statistics of first offenses, if accurately compiled, show the number of different children concerned in juvenile delinquency, and furnish a basis for a sound conclusion as to whether it is increasing or decreasing. Such data should be analyzed to show the age incidence of juvenile delinquency.

In the treatment and care of delinquent children, as in the case of dependent children, a great change in methods has been taking place during the past quarter of a century. More and more, especially in the larger cities, children's cases are brought before special juvenile courts. Probation service has been developed. Placing of delinquent children in family homes is increasingly adopted as a method of caring for them. We need comprehensive statistics by which we may trace the progress of these developments, showing the proportion of cases which are treated according to approved methods.

Furthermore, we need statistics by which the results of these various methods can be tested. Are they successful? What proportion of the juvenile delinquents whose cases are handled according to approved methods fail to become useful members of society? We need data based upon the histories of juvenile delinquents subsequent to the first offense, and compiled in relation to the character of treatment which their cases received and the conditions which surrounded them. In this connection statistics of offenses other than first furnish evidence upon which, in part, the treatment of juvenile offenders may be judged.

Statistics of juvenile prisoners and of children sentenced to reformatories and other penal or correctional institutions have been collected in connection with censuses of the population of jails, prisons, and other similar institutions. We have also data with reference to the number of courts hearing children's cases, and an estimate of the number of cases heard. But we are greatly in need not only of comprehensive statistics of the annual volume of juvenile delinquency, but also detailed studies of its causes and of the conditions which produce it.

Many social and economic problems arise also in connection with child labor and its regulation. Perhaps the chief problem is that of the effect of early employment of children upon their educational opportunities. Other problems are concerned with the child's health and development, his liability to accident, and the effect of early labor upon his later industrial career.

We need statistics, first of all, to show the extent of child labor at different ages and in different occupations. We have census sta-

tistics on this subject showing by age groups the numbers of children from ten to twenty years of age reported to be engaged in gainful occupations. These statistics are probably subject to considerable margin of error, since the decision whether or not the child is employed is left to the individual enumerator. The census bureau ignores any reports of employment of children under ten years of age. Intensive studies made by the Children's Bureau have indicated the extent of child labor in selected occupations and in selected localities. These studies have emphasized the close connection between early child labor and lack of education and have sought to trace its effects.

Between intercensal periods statistics relating to the granting of employment certificates should be available for use in studying changes in the proportions of children employed. The systematic compilation of such certificates would be of great value, since they usually require a statement of the child's education and frequently of his physical condition. On the basis of these records, therefore, it should be possible to study the education and physical condition of children to whom employment certificates are granted.

We also need statistics to show the extent to which vocational guidance is available for children entering industry. Statistics of placement are needed to show what occupations are open to children. Do children enter occupations which offer a definite industrial future, or do they enter blind-alley occupations, or during their early years in industry do they perform merely children's work? Are their early years in industry valuable or valueless for training purposes?

We need to know more about the adaptation of children to industrial conditions. How soon and how completely do children become adjusted to their industrial environment? How long do they hold their positions? What opportunities are open to those who are handicapped physically or mentally? These are but a few of the questions upon which more adequate statistical evidence is required.

In conclusion, three points should be emphasized. In the first place, it is obviously impossible in a brief paper to make any complete statement of our needs for child-welfare statistics. Time restrictions prevent a full development of the subjects touched upon, and many subjects have had to be left out altogether. Secondly, it has been quite impossible to give adequate attention to the history

and development of such statistics, an interesting subject which is in need of comprehensive treatment. The third point follows naturally: that, since the forward-looking point of view seemed most important, the emphasis in the paper has been placed upon our needs rather than upon our accomplishments. Though this emphasis upon needs, in connection with the limitations of time, has precluded any adequate discussion of our achievements, they are none the less real and substantial, and in closing I wish to refer to the splendid pioneer work that has been accomplished in many lines of child-welfare statistics by the Bureau of the Census, the Children's Bureau, and other agencies which have devoted time and energy to the gathering of statistics with the aim of advancing the solution of the problems of child welfare.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF AMERICAN VITAL STATISTICS

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ABSTRACT

The legal and administrative basis for a good system of registering births and deaths has been laid since 1900 in every American state except South Dakota, Arizona, and Nevada. To the results of this system is being added the nation-wide registration of marriages and divorces. Statistical details about marriages are almost entirely lacking. We may look forward, accordingly, to the completion in a very few years of a unique nation-wide system of vital statistics based on purely voluntary co-operation between the states and the federal government. Unfortunately the completeness of registration, especially in states newly added to the registration area and in the rural districts of many states earlier admitted, leaves much to be desired. In constructive criticism and interpretation of the vital statistics thus published scholars now have a large field for important and remunerative work.

Vital statistics include those statistics which deal with the processes whereby society perpetuates itself notwithstanding the brief life of each member. They embrace the statistics of births and deaths, of marriages as the normal and usual antecedent of births, and, in addition to the deaths of married persons, divorces and desertions as other ways of ending a marriage union. Before 1900 the United States alone among civilized countries was without a national system of vital statistics and had no prospect of soon developing one. Since that date a unique system has been growing up by voluntary co-operation of the federal government with the states and cities.

In 1900, American citizens interested in the public-health movement and in the statistics of deaths as a cornerstone, if not indeed a much larger part of the foundation, of that movement were much more numerous than those who cared about any other branch of vital statistics. Many states and cities acting independently had gone far toward building up good systems, many others had made valiant efforts toward the same end, but, especially when they relied upon the county which has proved to be an unworkable registration unit, they had almost completely failed. Thus the statistics of deaths

were indicated as the starting-point. The laws, ordinances, and statistical forms used in any part of the United States for the registration of deaths were collected and compared. On this basis an outline plan suited to American conditions was drafted. It included the points that ought to be covered in any satisfactory law or ordinance and a model form of death certificate. The American Public Health Association aided in the work and indorsed the result. At this stage the subject was laid before Congress together with a specimen form of law. Congress, at the suggestion of the Bureau of the Census, passed a joint resolution approving the effort and requesting the states to consider and act upon the subject. The great majority of the states which at the beginning of the century were registering deaths immediately adopted the new form of certificate and thus laid the basis for uniform federal statistics. The movement was indorsed a little later by the Conference of State and Provincial Boards of Health and the American Medical Association. It spread rapidly and its success soon aroused a demand for similar federal leadership in the matter of registering births. A model law and certificate for the registration of births were prepared by the same agencies and quite widely adopted.

The states and cities, it will be noticed, have retained all their authority unimpaired, and the federal government with its occasional conferences, its steady stream of correspondence, and its expert secretariat has played somewhat the rôle of the League of Nations. The only power exercised by the federal government was that vested by Congress in the director of the census to collect, tabulate, and publish at its expense and in his discretion the statistics of deaths and births in the registration area; that is, those parts of the country in which deaths or births were registered with completeness enough to give value to the statistics. After a state had enacted a satisfactory law—usually the model law—had provided for its proper administration, and was getting at least 90 per cent of its deaths or births recorded, it was admitted to the registration area. The development of this area is shown in Table I.

Only three states remain, South Dakota, Arizona, and Nevada, in which the law is unsatisfactory because it does not and cannot secure a good registration of births and deaths, and those three

states are among the most sparsely settled. In a number of other states, especially those in which the registration law is of recent enactment, it is the appropriation which is inadequate or lacking, or the administration which is ineffective. In seven states the registration of deaths, and in fourteen the registration of births, are thus on trial. If the recent rate of progress should continue, all states would be in both registration areas by 1930, and then for the first time we would know the American birth-rate and death-rate at least approximately as we know those of almost every other civilized country.

Annual reports upon marriages and divorces in the United States began in 1922 and seem likely to be continued. These statistics also are gathered, wherever possible, from state offices. But many states

TABLE I

| DATE | NUMBER OF STATES ADMITTED TO REGISTRATION AREA FOR | | PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION INCLUDED IN REGISTRATION AREA FOR | |
|-----------|---|--------|--|--------|
| | Deaths | Births | Deaths | Births |
| 1900..... | 11 | ..... | 40.5 | ..... |
| 1910..... | 21 | ..... | 58.3 | ..... |
| 1915..... | 25 | 11 | 67.5 | 31.1 |
| 1920..... | 35 | 25 | 82.2 | 59.8 |
| 1924..... | 39 | 32 | 87.7 | 74.5 |

do not require returns of marriages and divorces. In them the statistics are obtained by the Bureau of the Census directly from the counties, either by correspondence or, in the few cases in which that fails, by special agents in the field. The statistics of marriages thus secured are confined to the total number registered. It would be appropriate, I believe, for organizations like the Sociological Society to urge that a model law for the registration of marriages like those for the registration of births and deaths should be prepared and laid before the states. Indeed, if requested, it might co-operate in drafting such a law. Until such a uniform law for the registration of marriages, specifying the indispensable statistical details, is enacted in a number of states no adequate statistics of marriages can be obtained. If that were done the Bureau of the Census might continue its present work of gathering the mere number of marriages from the entire country,

but in addition prepare statistics showing the age, race, birthplace, previous marital condition, etc., of the parties for those states in which the uniform registration law was in force, an area which might then be called the marriage registration area.

Existing statistics about divorce are more detailed and uniform. The need for a model law for the registration of divorces, therefore, is less clear, but I believe that if one for marriages were widely adopted a demand for a uniform law for the registration of divorces would quickly arise, just as a demand for a birth-registration law followed upon the adoption of a death-registration law.

The Bureau of Immigration now reports the number of departing emigrants as well as the number of arriving immigrants. Probably in the near future methods for registering immigrants entering from Canada or Mexico and for preventing clandestine immigration will be improved. By 1930, then, we may hope to possess the elements of a complete system of vital statistics obtained in most cases by a unique form of voluntary co-operation between the federal government and the states. This progress should give much satisfaction to the sociologists of the country. They, as much as any organized body of men and women, represent the public which demands and uses the information thus furnished. It should gratify especially those who agree with me in deploring the tendency to increase federal power and functions at the expense of the states.

The members of the Sociological Society will wish, also, to know something about the quality and significance of American vital statistics. Let us turn, then, to the far more difficult topic, the completeness and trustworthiness of these records and of the rates based upon them. I pass by the problems of estimating post-censal population, upon which I have recently spoken before another assembly,¹ and that of the correctness with which causes of death are assigned by the attending physicians or other persons charged by the law with that difficult and delicate task. The latter is of interest primarily to physicians, and is easily separable from the question I desire now to raise: What proportion of all deaths in the death-registration area are registered? I will limit it more narrowly by

¹ International Mathematical Congress held at Toronto in August, 1924. See "Methods of Estimating the Population of the U.S.," in *Metron* for 1925.

phrasing it thus: What proportion of the deaths which occurred in the death-registration states in 1920, the year of the most recent census, were registered?

In this field I am more skeptical than most students and my arguments should be weighed with a presumption against accepting them, because I speak for what is probably a small minority among those in touch with the situation. In no community on either side of the Atlantic, I believe, do all deaths get recorded. Perhaps the largest class of omissions is in the group of very young children who breathe for only a few days, hours, or even minutes, after birth. In some such cases no entry appears; in others the death is registered as a stillbirth, either contrary to the law which defines a stillborn child as one dead at birth, or in conformity with it in jurisdictions which allow a birth to be registered as a stillbirth if the child is dead before registration. Other classes among which omissions are likely to occur are the group of accidental deaths, for example by drowning, in which the body is not recovered. According to the theory of the American registration law, no corpse can be buried, cremated, or transported without a permit, and that permit is to be issued only in exchange for a certificate of death containing the required personal description of the deceased and a medical or verified statement of the cause of death. In surveying the evidence for my claim that many deaths in certain of the registration states are not registered, I shall be frankly personal, because that appeals to me as the most cogent and also the most interesting way of arguing.

Nearly thirty years ago the citizens of a small city in central New York were faced by the question of whether they should instal a city sewerage system. Some of the taxpayers objected to the city's assuming the heavy cost, and urged that its low death-rate, 13.4 per 1,000, proved the city to be an unusually healthy place, which had accordingly little need to spend money on the projected improvement. A careful study of the local situation carried on for weeks by several members of a university class in statistics proved that the number of unrecorded deaths in the year, 1896, was equal to one-third the number of recorded deaths, and that the true death-rate of the city was 16.5, instead of 13.4, per 1,000. This evidence may have had some influence on the voters; at any rate the plan for a

sewerage system was adopted. In 1920 the death-rates of Ithaca, New York, Ann Arbor, Michigan, Bloomington, Indiana, and Columbia, Missouri, to speak only of university towns, were 15 per 1,000, or more, and thus not intrinsically improbable. But the rates in Urbana, Illinois: 11.6, Madison, Wisconsin: 11.5, and Berkeley, California: 10.3, were so low as to arouse skepticism and to invite examination. One would like to see in them a careful test made like that described in Ithaca. Our best source for checking registration proved to be the deaths mentioned in the file of the local daily paper. If we turn to the group of small cities which were not university centers, we find Hibbing, Minnesota, with a death-rate in 1920 of 8.8; Revere, Massachusetts, with a rate of 7.2; Clifton, New Jersey, with a rate of 7.1; and Cleveland Heights, Ohio, with a rate of 6.9. These rates are not impossible, but they are so improbable as to shift the burden of proof to the office responsible for them.

Turn for a moment to the conditions in a larger city than Ithaca. The death-rate of Buffalo as reported by the city department of health, dropped, between 1891 and 1897, as follows: 23.5, 20.0, 19.0, 16.7, 14.0, 12.7, 12.4: a decrease in six years of 47 per cent. About this record the mayor said in one of his annual messages: "The death-rate is now lower than that of any other large city in the country. The city of Buffalo probably has no prouder distinction than the pre-eminent place it occupies among the cities of the country in point of public health." In a public address which I gave in Buffalo early in 1898 I ventured to question the accuracy of the rate of 12.4 per 1,000 for 1897. The evidence I had consisted of these items: (1) an opinion from our first American expert, J. S. Billings, that the chances were at least 50 to 1 that the death-rate in Buffalo had not been below 16 per 1,000; (2) a statement from the statistician of the Prudential Life Insurance Company that their experience showed a mortality among their policyholders in Buffalo of between 1 and 2 per 1,000 *above* the average in all the cities of New York State; (3) the serious omissions in Ithaca and the identity of its law and ordinances with those of Buffalo. In my address I claimed not that this evidence was conclusive, but only that it shifted the burden of proof and warranted a public expression of skepticism. No omissions of deaths from the record were demonstrated in Buffalo as they were

in Ithaca, and as a result neither position was established to the satisfaction of its opponents. The annual report of the New York State Board of Health for 1897, which appeared later in 1898, gives for each month about the same number of deaths in Buffalo as were reported by the city department of health, but in another part reports 5,013 deaths for the year, an excess of 541. No explanation of the discrepancy is to be found in the volume, and letters of inquiry recently sent to each office yielded no clue. The large figure can hardly be a misprint, because it is consistent with the total for the county. The only conjecture I can make is that the larger total included belated returns of deaths of non-residents subtracted by the city authorities, or deaths occurring outside of Buffalo, but of persons who resided in the city.

At the Census of 1900 the federal authorities obtained returns of deaths from enumerators wherever the registered deaths indicated a death-rate of less than 15 per 1,000, and checked the results with the local registration. In Buffalo the registration records showed 5,528 deaths, the enumerators 3,135, of which 207 could not be found in the registration. Accordingly, these were added. If the result be accepted it indicates that in 1900 between 93 and 94 per cent of the deaths were registered. After the Census of 1900 it appeared also that the estimate of Buffalo's population in 1897 had been seriously exaggerated. The result of these combined corrections was to raise the Buffalo death-rate in 1897 from 12.4 to 15.5 per 1,000.

I will not discuss the Chicago death-rate in 1900, over which a vigorous argument arose between the city department of health and the federal Bureau of the Census. But in 1904 the *Weekly Bulletin* of the Chicago health department, after showing that the average age of Chicago decedents in 1872 was 15.2 years, and in 1903 was 32.1 years, went on to say: "These figures show an increase in the average duration of human life in Chicago in thirty-one years of 111 per cent." This is an admirable example of the hoary fallacy exploded in Europe in the eighteenth century that the duration of life is measured by the average age at death. The average age at death depends on two variables, the average age of the living and the average duration of life. The average age at death in 1872 was low because the population of Chicago then consisted mainly of two

classes: young children with a high death-rate, and persons 3 to 55 years of age with a low death-rate. By 1923 the group of persons over 55 years of age with a high death-rate had become numerous enough for the deaths among them powerfully to affect the average age at death. The figures on which the city health department relied furnished no proof that life in Chicago had lengthened. For that death-rates by age leading up to a life-table are required.

In 1915 I had occasion to examine the population statistics and vital statistics of the Pacific Coast states and concluded that the death records of Washington and the birth records of California were vitiated by serious omissions. In subsequent articles the former were defended by the health officer of Washington and impeached again at greater length. I took the position that a death-rate of 10, which was the published rate of Washington in 1910, no more deserves serious statistical analysis than does the claim that vaccination does not diminish the danger of contracting smallpox. The death-rate of Washington was defended mainly on the grounds that the population was young and healthy and infant mortality very low. To meet these arguments the death-rates in Washington in 1910 for each sex at each of eighteen age-periods were applied to a stationary or life-table population, yielding a death-rate of 14.2 per 1,000. This meant that if the state of Washington had had for a generation a population without immigration or emigration and with a constant yearly number of births and an equal number of deaths, all other conditions remaining identical with those of 1910, the death-rate, instead of 10.0 per 1,000 would have been 14.2, or 42 per cent higher, the increase measuring the effect of the favorable sex and age composition of the population in 1910 in lowering the death-rate. It meant also that under the 1910 conditions, if the death-rate of 10.0 was correct, the average length of human life in the state of Washington would be 1,000 divided by 14.2, or 70 years, and its median length about 80 years. In other words, if its true death-rate was 10 per 1,000, one-half of all the persons born in the state would live to be more than 80 years of age.

The population of no American state probably is so healthy or so peculiarly constituted in the matter of age distribution or both as to warrant accepting without careful inquiry a death-rate of less than

10. In a sparsely settled district it is difficult to secure a record of every death, and, in addition to a good law such as all the registration states now possess, years of painstaking, intelligent, and tactful administration are required to secure trustworthy results throughout a state, including as most states do, extensive sparsely settled districts.

New York State has in Hamilton County the most sparsely settled county east of the Mississippi River; for years that county had the lowest death-rate recorded in New York State. Its death-rate during the first decade of the twentieth century was 10.1 per 1,000 or three-fifths of the average rate for the state. But during the second decade its rate rose to 13.2 per 1,000 while that for the whole state fell to 15.6, so that the difference between the state and the county was reduced by two-thirds. This change should be ascribed to an improvement in the completeness of Hamilton County registration, not to an actual increase of sickness and death.

If my contention that a death-rate of 10 per 1,000, or less, in any part of the United States is probably an erroneous rate and points to a failure to register all the deaths be approved, it will be of interest to ask where such rates occur. Let us confine our attention to the sparsely settled rural districts where a death is more likely to go unregistered, and ask: What proportion of the area of each death-registration state in 1920 was included in rural districts having a rate of less than 10? In New England, New York, Delaware, and Maryland every county had a death-rate of more than 10 in its rural districts; one or two sparsely settled counties in New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Ohio had a recorded rate of less than 10; those areas in Illinois, Michigan, Virginia, South Carolina, North Carolina, Washington, and California occupied between one-tenth and one-fourth of the state; those areas in Florida, Tennessee, Kentucky, Missouri, Colorado, Mississippi, and Louisiana occupied between one-half and three-fourths of the state, and in Nebraska nearly four-fifths.

It is not necessary to accept a death-rate of 10 per 1,000 as the limit which divides presumably complete from presumably incomplete registration. No matter how low the limit is set, provided it is above zero, a number of counties in the registration area will be found to fall below it. Thus Colorado contains three counties with a combined population in 1920 of nearly 12,000, and those counties

together reported two deaths for the year. They have about two persons to a square mile. At the other end of the country is Monroe County, Florida, which includes, in addition to the city of Key West, 800 persons living on 1,100 square miles of mainland and reporting two deaths for the year.

There were 2,011 counties in 1920 within the death-registration states, and of these 617, or three-tenths, had a death-rate in the rural districts of less than 10 per 1,000. The evidence I have summarized leads me to believe that in the great majority of these 617 counties the unregistered deaths were numerous enough to make the published rates incorrect and misleading. What I plead for, however, is, not that you accept this opinion, but that if possible you study the problem in your own state and form your own conclusion about the official rates.

Let us turn now to the similar question about the completeness with which births are registered. Perhaps the best compendious test of the accuracy of birth registration comes from a comparison between the number of births registered during the year before the census day and the number of living children under one year of age reported in the census. If both were accurate the number of births during the year would exceed the number of children living at its close by about the number who had died. If fewer births were registered than children enumerated, probably many births were not registered. Indeed an excess of about 10 per cent in the births over the children living is needed to allay suspicion. Unfortunately this test can be used only once in ten years. There were three states, South Carolina, Kentucky, and Oregon, in which more children under one year of age were found living on January 1, 1920, than the number of births registered in 1919. Two of these three were admitted to the birth-registration area in that year. There were six others in which the excess of registered births over children living was less than 5 per cent, and in which registration was almost certainly defective. There were eight in which the registered births exceeded the children living by 5 to 10 per cent, and in these the registration was open to suspicion. There were six with an excess of births amounting to more than 10 per cent. I am disposed to conclude that

not more than these six states, namely, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, Maryland, District of Columbia, had reasonably complete birth-registration. All these states, except Maryland, had been in the birth-registration area from the start in 1915, and Maryland was admitted only a year later. The same method of analysis might advantageously be carried into the counties, since with births, as with deaths, the sparsely settled districts are those in which registration is presumably least satisfactory. In nearly every birth-registration state the excess of births registered in 1919 over children living January 1, 1920, was two or more times as great in the large cities as in the rest of the state. Yet if registration of births were as complete in the country districts as in the cities one would expect the excess in the country to be greater, because infant mortality is probably less.

The subject of the accuracy of registration in sparsely settled districts was discussed at the 1923 meeting of the International Statistical Institute in Brussels. At the end of the discussion it was decided to appoint a committee to examine into the question and report upon it at the meeting to be held at Rome next October. As I am a member of that committee I am especially anxious to get any light upon the problem which my colleagues here may be able to throw.

Thus the United States is within sight of a complete system of vital statistics developed by a unique method of voluntary co-operation between the federal government and the several states and cities. I congratulate the Sociological Society, many of whose numbers have aided wisely and effectively in reaching this result. The greatest immediate need is for a better popular understanding and support of a system which might easily be wrecked, as it has once or twice been endangered, by a failure of co-operation. A need hardly less pressing is for men and women trained in vital statistics and able and eager to interpret the figures thus made available. Is it too much to say that we never have had in the employ of the United States or of any of the states a person who has rendered to vital statistics anything like the service rendered by Farr in England, the Bertillons in France, Boeckh in Germany, or Körösi in Hungary?

Now the material is becoming available and I felicitate especially the rising generation of scholars on the prospects thus opening before them.

Possibly a larger opportunity may grow from the success of this modest experiment. Many citizens deplore the present tendency to magnify the functions of the federal government at the expense of the states. We are in serious danger of carrying that shift to a dangerous excess. May not the development to which I have called your attention this morning point out a path whereby the government at Washington may furnish leadership without authority, and thus slowly educate local opinion and guide local action?

At the present moment, for example, our citizens are hesitating between a desire to reduce the evils of child labor and a desire to retain state autonomy. Would it be possible to get a uniform law for the state regulation of child labor and the state registration of child laborers drafted by the groups especially interested in the subject, and Congress petitioned to urge the states to adopt the draft? If a few states should adopt it and require child laborers to be registered, the federal government might build up a registration area for child laborers under the leadership of the Bureau of Labor Statistics or the Children's Bureau in the Department of Labor, and thus focus public opinion and produce the statistics needed to elucidate the problem.

Whether the illustration I have chosen be a happy one or not the unique social experiment to which your attention has been invited suggests a way for harmonizing state action, in fields where harmony is needed, under guidance which no state and no group of private citizens, however well organized and familiar with the subject, can furnish.

SECTION ON RURAL SOCIOLOGY

SIGNIFICANT FACTORS IN RURAL POPULATION AFFECTING OUR CIVILIZATION

FARM POPULATIONS

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ABSTRACT

Farm Populations.—The relative decline of rural population is an established fact for most advanced nations, including the United States. (1) The assumption that this relative decrease in our nation is bad because it proportionally diminishes an inherently superior biological stock is unfounded, any such seeming superiority being proved to be contingent. (2) The assumption that the effects of this relative decline are bad because it proportionally diminishes an inherently superior moral stock is unfounded because any seeming moral superiority of rural people is the outcome of a peculiar situation. (3) The rapid growth of world-population and the relatively fixed limits of ultimate food production bode a crisis sometime in future. A relative decline of rural population might conceivably seriously threaten the food supply, however, before that crisis is reached. Our nation has already reached the point of marginal agricultural production and needs to consider the relation of farming population to food supply. However, the rate of natural increase of rural population is approximately double that of urban districts. As a result between six million and seven million persons shifted over from rural to urban communities during the last census decade, something like 70 per cent being from farms. Such a mighty shift must involve serious effects on both city and country because, (a) population conditions social life, but not because (b) the shifting population is superior or inferior inherently, biologically, or morally.

This particular subject I am set to discuss is a good example of the presence of assumptions and theories in the field of the sciences. The writers on population often disagree in the conclusions they draw from their facts because they come to the study with such widely diverging viewpoints. There are those who are influenced by the dogma of race superiority, others by that of Nordic superiority, others by that of rural superiority, others by that of the superiority of the inherited biological factors over cultural factors. As a result, otherwise excellent works are vitiated by unproved assumptions and the conclusions of the various authors are divergent and contradictory.

In this paper I shall assume that the term civilization refers to our present society, that the term population connotes group members in their biological aspects, and that our civilization is worth promoting and, therefore, discussing. I shall confine my attention to the quantitative aspects of farm populations because they are more tangible, statistically measurable, and consequently more subject to warranted conclusions. But I hasten to confess that my conclusions are likely to satisfy no one who expects certitudes. For I find the situation is

this. If I throw away all assumptions I can reach no, or few, conclusions. If I adopt assumptions, all my conclusions may well be doubted and rejected. What is left, then, is to point out that if such and such an assumption is true, the result will be so and so; but if another assumption is made, then some other conclusion must be drawn.

We might take as our beginning and basic proposition the sociological conception of the interdependence of the parts of society. According to this conception we would expect that, since all parts of our world-society are related to each other by reason of their functional interdependence, rural society and rural population are in vital and effective touch with all parts of the world and are therefore sending their currents and shocks to every part of the world-system. This of course means that nothing in rural society itself or in the conditions which determine what that society shall be can be without its influence upon the world-system. And since population in its biological aspects and individuals making up the population in their psychophysical aspects are such fundamental conditioning factors of social activities and social life, it is seen that, when viewed in general terms, they must be of great moment in affecting the character of our world-society.

There are several features of population viewed quantitatively which deserve attention. The first to be considered is the relative decline of farm populations. The relative decline of rural population is well known to be a world-phenomenon. During the last century the shifting of the population center of gravity from rural to urban districts has proceeded with constantly accelerated rates. In 1800 about 97 per cent of the people of Europe were rural, but by 1900 only about 25 per cent were classed as rural. In 1800 there were only 14 European cities having as many as 100,000 inhabitants, while in 1900 there were 136 such cities.

The population of the United States has undergone a similar shifting between 1790, the date of the first census, and 1920. The amount of this shift varies according to the criterion of what we regard as city and country populations, but the story is always impressive. Using 8,000 as the differential, we find 96.7 per cent of the population rural in 1790, and 56.2 per cent in 1920. With 2,500 as the criterion, the percentages in 1790 and 1920 were 95.2 and 51.4. With incorporation as the differential, the percentages are 95 and 40.2. Not only is there a relative decline of our national rural population, but an absolute decline in sections of the nation. During the last census decade, 25 per cent of the 48 states, about 70 per cent of the 3,000 counties, and probably 50 per cent or more of the scores of thousands of townships had fewer rural inhabitants in 1920 than in 1910.

Having established the fact of relative decline of rural populations, let us consider the import of a relatively declining rural population for the world. But of the many possible effects, let us notice three.

First, the influences arising from lessening the proportion of a certain kind of physical stock. We might make two assumptions here in order to further the

discussion: (a) The rural stock is a superior stock physically and, (b) this superiority is due to hereditary causes. We should like to know whether or not these assumptions are true.

Let us cite Professor East as an example of those who believe the rural people of the United States are inherently physically superior to those of cities. His evidence is based on the army examinations for admission to service during the recent war and the mortality and morbidity records. We can substantiate his facts. In the army tests, according to the Surgeon General's report, the proportion of urban recruits rejected was 15 per cent greater than that of rural recruits. The average urban death-rate for the ten years, 1910-19, is about 15 per cent above the average rural rate. Mr. East's explanation of this physical superiority is that the rural white inhabitants are dominantly natives of native parents, whereas this element in urban populations is in the minority. He further concludes that this preponderating native rural stock is almost entirely Nordic, since for the first century our immigration was, he says, almost wholly British, Scandinavian, and Teutonic. Further, this writer classifies as ignoramus or joker those who believe that this physical superiority is due to the conditions under which rural people live.

It appears to me that Mr. East has placed himself in the joker class by ascribing the favorable rural mortality differential to the predominance of the so-called Nordic stock. He has evidently ignored some important facts. First, the tendency manifested among our states for the urban death-rate to become and remain lower than the rural rate. Several states have established and maintained an urban death-rate below that of rural districts: Massachusetts since 1910; New York since 1911; New Jersey and Washington since 1915; California since 1916. Thus we have five states in which the death-rate is considerably lower in city than in country. Neither city nor country have changed their proportion of foreign-born materially since this has been true. The predominance of so-called Nordics in the country have not prevented the occurrence of the higher death-rates in the five states alluded to, nor has the absence of predominance of the Nordic element in cities debarred the more favorable mortality rate there.

Second, it seems to be an established fact that urban populations possess a greater resisting power to the attacks of pathological germs than do rural populations when exposed to the same conditions. Thus when men are drawn together in large groups, as in the army, the rural recruits are much less resistant than men from cities. Recent statistics from South America indicate that city children have greater resistant power to tuberculosis than rural children. It is indicated that the fatality from tuberculosis varies inversely with the prevalence of that disease in populations.

Third, the so-called Nordic stock is a very shadowy and uncertain thing in America. To say that rural people are Nordic because they descended from British, Scandinavian, and Teutonic stocks is to overlook the fact that the majority of those stocks are non-Nordic, if dolichocephaly and brachycephaly

are dependable criteria. Mr. East has inferred a biological fact from a cultural fact.

It seems safe to conclude then that any advantage in mortality rates rural inhabitants possess is due rather to the conditions under which they live than to racial stock. Any loss civilization may sustain from this relative decline arises from shifting the center of gravity of population farther toward a higher mortality rate. But the bow of promise is that cities may more than compensate for this by improving their housing and sanitary conditions.

It may be said that the rural population is made of better moral stuff, so that its relative decline decreases the world's supply of this highly desirable element. This statement has been made by various writers and deserves examination.

Statistics do show that rates of crime, especially relating to property, and of divorce are much lower in rural than in urban districts, and that the marriage rates are higher. Seemingly competent studies also indicate that vice, at least of the institutional sort, is less rampant in the country. But again we must assert that these advantageous characteristics are contingent rather than inherent. To say that there is less crime and divorce in the country because the rural inhabitants are inherently superior morally is like saying that because there are nine times as many male as of female convicts in our prisons, women, by nature, are nine times as good as men. We can admit that boys and girls reared in the country develop habits of industry and honesty that may stand the strain of urban life at some later date better than those reared under urban conditions; but we are without proof that the inherent character or moral fiber of farming people is superior.

Any loss to civilization sustained by relatively diminishing this kind of population is due to the fact that it is always a misfortune to decrease our supply of persistently upright individuals whether they have been made so by nature or by the conditions under which they develop.

The relative decline of rural population may be conceived to be significant for the food supply of nation and world. It is difficult to shut our eyes to the fact that the growth of populations generally realizes the spirit if not the letter of the Malthusian law that populations tend to increase geometrically and subsistence arithmetically. It is estimated that the population of the world was 850,000,000 in 1800, and about double that a century later. Another century, at the same rate of increase, would yield a world-population of approximately 3,000,000,000. Professor East makes an elaborate and seemingly fair estimate of the possibilities of the ultimate food-producing capacity of the planet, including all land areas and the sea, and arrives at the conclusion that the world can produce enough food, by the employment of present known methods of production, to supply a population of 5,200,000,000 souls. No one can say when this limit will be reached, but we can see that should the rate of increase of the past century be sustained, it would be overtaken in about 175 years.

It may be objected that we of today need have no concern over a possible

food shortage some two centuries hence; that in the past society has always been able to make mother earth produce more food when the need arose and that doubtless such will be the case in future. Even our social scientists are likely to exercise a noble self-restraint and manifest almost as slight emotional excitement in the face of this contingency two centuries removed as over the secular approach of the moon toward the earth which promises to land that satellite in our unwilling lap a few hundred million years hence.

It may also be objected that the lowering of birth-rates in the more advanced nations promises to postpone the arrival of the saturation point of population and that as outlying peoples rise in the scale of social development, they too will come under influences making for lower birth-rates. Were birth-rates alone concerned in the increase of population, this contention would have more weight than it possesses. But death-rates also fall as social development takes place and the increase of population does not decline as rapidly as decreasing birth-rates alone indicate. The estimates of increase of the world-population in future are based on recent years where lowered birth-rates and lowered death-rates alike obtain. With the exception of France, the populations of the advanced nations increase at a rapid rate, while the chief check to an enormous increase among outlying and backward peoples is an exceedingly high death-rate.

The first ground of optimism, the fecundity of civilization in discovering improved methods of producing food, needs scrutiny. According to the best methods of agriculture now used, it is estimated that on the average the world cannot realize a greater supporting power of production than one person to each 2.5 acres. The saturation point of 5,200,000,000 inhabitants rests on this figure. There is not much likelihood that improved agricultural methods can greatly exceed this limit. It may be said that in future industrial chemistry will be able to produce sufficient foods without recourse to agriculture. It is unquestionably true that many high-grade chemists look forward with great assurance to such a time. But it is one thing to be able scientifically to produce foodstuffs from inorganic matter and another thing to do so so cheaply that such food can be put within reach of all. Gold can now be produced from other metals, but it is not commercially advantageous to do so. Further, it may be questionable if chemically produced food would be adjusted to the human organism. Osborn has shown that unless the animal stomach is supplied with from 18 to 20 amino acids it is incapable of producing proteids for its own digestive system. So far plants have been able to transform the energy of the inorganic into the organic far more effectively than man. However, we are merely saying that science has far to go before it can supply life-giving food from the inorganic in commercially available quantities, not that science cannot do so ultimately.

This matter of food supply becomes more serious when we consider the situation confronting the most populous nations. With the most intensive cultivation possible, China has reached its limits of production, and were it not for its prodigious death-rate which eliminates a half or more of the children, millions would starve annually or be forced to migrate. India is in almost the same fix,

and Japan has become so populous and is growing so rapidly that the necessity for finding a place outside its own territory in which to settle its excess population is making it a disturbing factor in the council of nations. The Western industrialized nations of Europe and Great Britain only keep their populations going by great importations of food. Only their ability to draw upon the food supplies of non-industrialized peoples enables them to avert famine and disaster. Our own nation seems to be moving toward this same position of dependence. This is denoted in the ratios between the average value of foodstuffs imported and exported for various sets of years since 1840. These ratios tell a story. About 1840, we imported twice as much food—in value—as we exported, one and a half times as much by 1860, one and a fourth times as much by 1870, and about half as much by 1890. Then we began to return to the prior condition of dependence on the outside world for foodstuffs, until by 1920-22 we imported almost three-fourths as much as we exported. It might seem that we will continue the tendency toward greater proportionate importation of foodstuffs.

It is rather difficult to determine whether our rate of agricultural production keeps pace with the growth of our population. The difficulty is in discovering the common denominator for the various food-products. Perhaps the best method is to convert the various forms of products into food calories. This was done for the average amounts produced for the last three decades and the results placed on a per capita basis. The per capita amounts of farm food-products in millions of calories were 5.6 for 1890-1900, 6.4 for 1900-1910, and 5.9 for the decade 1910-20. We thus find that our food production has somewhat more than kept pace with the growth of population. How long we can continue this is a question.

We have much unimproved land in farms to be put under production and also considerable areas to be incorporated into farms. By improving all lands in farms and by bringing all reclaimable lands into farms and by improving our methods of cultivation we should be able comfortably to feed twice or thrice our present population. Just when our population will reach the 200,000,000 mark is problematical. Pearl's estimate places the date at about 2100. My own calculations, based on the decrease of our rates of decennial increase, places the point at 1970.

About all we can say today is that sooner or later the world and our nation will meet the problem of producing sufficient foodstuffs for their teeming populations. The relative decline of farming populations, at least when the point of diminishing returns is reached, means a somewhat proportionate reduction of food production. Our nation is passing into the condition of being dominantly industrial and so is joining the ranks of older nations in being dependent upon outside food-supplies. Farmers will not continue to farm if farming is unprofitable. It is the business of states to understand the issue and to see to it that farming is sufficiently remunerative to attract and retain the needed farm populations on farms.

So far we have noticed some of the possible influences upon our present society from the relative decrease of rural populations. Now we shall consider another phase of the quantitative aspects of such population. And because our time is limited, I shall confine attention to our own rural people.

The rural population of the United States actually is increasing at a very rapid rate and because of this is able to contribute vast numbers of people to cities. This is due to its large rate of natural increase. I have tried to estimate the rate of natural increase for the last two decades. The figures for the decade 1900-1910, for the nation and for the nine divisions, have been published in the *Journal of Statistics*. Of course, I recognize that these rates are only very rough approximations due to the meager data existing at that time.

But recently I have worked out rural and urban rates of natural increase for the nation which I believe are much less approximate and fairly near the actual situation. The greater degree of accuracy is due to the fact that the registration area for some years has covered the major portions of the population. The census data in other particulars also have been greatly improved, so that not only can a more accurate rate of natural increase be secured, but a more correct estimate of the force of the various factors making for increase or decrease of rural and urban populations can be made.

Without going into a discussion of the methods by which the results are secured, and the various checking devices applied making for accuracy, the results will be given. Perhaps we can best picture the situation by presenting the facts relating to the sources of increase of urban population in the United States for the last two decades.

It is to be noted that rural migration, or migration from what the Census calls rural districts, represents 45 per cent of urban increase for the last decade, and less than 31 per cent for the previous decade; that immigration furnished only about 23 per cent of such increase for the last decade, but 41 per cent in the previous one; and that natural increase supplied over 23 per cent in the decade ending 1920, in comparison with our 20 per cent ten years earlier.

Put in terms of numbers, rural districts sent nearly 5,500,000 persons to cities during the last census decade, and over 3,500,000 in the previous decade. We can enlarge these numbers by including what is represented in incorporation, nearly a million for each decade. Thus nearly 6,500,000 souls shifted over from rural to urban districts in the decade ending 1920. This is a population about the size of New York City. It represents more than ten such cities as Pittsburgh or San Francisco. That is, the rural districts contribute the population equivalent of a city a year the size of Pittsburgh or San Francisco.

What does the rural side of the ledger show as to the source of supply of this vast contribution? According to my estimate, the natural increase of rural population during the last census decade amounted to 7,100,000, and immigration supplied 754,000 inhabitants, a total of approximately 7,850,000. But the census credits rural districts with an increase of only 1,600,000. The difference

between 7,750,000 and 1,600,000, that is, about 6,150,000, represents the shift to cities covered by rural migration and incorporation. Probably 65 to 70 per cent of the difference is from farms.

When we compare the rates of natural increase of city and country, we find that the latter is about twice the former. This seems an exaggeration, but my estimates make such a difference for both decades, and I have sufficient checks on my estimate for the last decade to assure their being conservative. The estimated urban and rural birth-rates for the last decade were 23.2 and 27.4, the death-rates were 15.6 and 13.0, leaving rates of natural increase of 7.6 and 15.2.

We may say then that the immediate and perhaps greatest influence our farming districts are having on modern society consists of this tremendous addition of numbers to urban populations. If Professor Hayes is right in holding that the form and distribution of population is a technic condition and that technic conditions are determinative of social activities, then we must conclude that the vast shifts of population indicated exercise a profound effect upon civilization.

But there are some possible effects of a special nature to be noticed. The first is the possible influence on the physical stock of cities. We have previously discussed the assumption that because the rural stock, at least the white portion, is predominantly native-born of native parents, and because this native stock is supposedly Nordic, it is by that fact inherently superior to the urban population physically. Were this assumption true, the urban population of our nation would undoubtedly be greatly strengthened by the additions from the country. But as we have seen, any physical superiority the rural population possesses is likely contingent. It may be that this contingent superiority carries over and strengthens the urban population in some directions. On the other hand, as was suggested, these rural emigrants may be inferior to urban populations when subjected to the toxic infections of intense group life. Second, the rural migrants to cities are selected quite largely from the age groups lying between fifteen and sixty. In this respect the urban populations are being enriched by the most vigorous portions of the rural peoples. This is an undoubted contribution of importance and does much to account for the drive and progress of cities. On the other hand, our rural population is greatly weakened by the same process. Nationally, we may be robbing Peter to pay Paul.

Third, there is the possibility that rural people are superior to urban people in inherent moral fibre. In our previous discussion of this suggestion it was regarded as an assumption. We viewed any superiority of morals on the part of rural populations as the product of conditions contingent to rural life. Even so, it might be that the addition of contingently superior inhabitants to cities would be advantageous. No doubt the habits of industry, steadiness, and thrift are real contributions. It may be also that devotion to family ties holds over and proves contributive. But we have no evidence that those from farms who move to cities conduct their business, professions, and political life on higher ethical planes than do those native to urban life. And again we have to remember that

rural populations sustain a decided injury in the removal of their most vigorous inhabitants.

Fourth, the migration of vast populations from farms often results in rural depopulation. This, in turn, involves increased rural isolation. In this we have a devitalization of neighborhood and community life which cannot but be highly detrimental.

VILLAGE POPULATIONS

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ABSTRACT

Village populations.—As part of a comprehensive study of American village life, the Institute of Social and Religious Research recently made a special inquiry into the number and distribution of American villages and also a detailed tabulation of the 1920 Census data for 177 representative villages. This Census analysis of 177 villages, which was the first tabulation of its sort ever made, leads to the following tentative conclusions: (1) The more rapidly the villages of an area are growing, the more nearly normal is the age distribution of the population. (2) The friction which so often exists between village and open country populations can partly be explained from the fact that such a relatively small proportion of villagers are engaged in agricultural occupations. (3) There is reason to believe that the differences between village and open country populations are so great that in reality the term "rural" as used by the Census had better be divided into two distinct subcategories—the village and the open country. (4) The Census data leads to the hypothesis that certain sections of the country have been left with an oversupply of villages by the recent changes in methods of transportation which give people in the country easy and quick access to the larger centers.

The Institute of Social and Religious Research is now engaged upon a comprehensive study of American village life. In addition to actual field work, the Institute has undertaken, as a part of this inquiry, a detailed tabulation of the 1920 Census data for 177 representative villages. It also has undertaken a special inquiry into the number, size, and distribution of the villages of the United States. Although the field work is still incomplete, it is possible at this time to present a few important results of the special village count and of the Census analysis of 177 villages. Because the Census analysis was the first tabulation of its sort ever made, I will indicate to you in a general way not only certain conclusions from this study, but also the method of obtaining the data from the Census.

An analysis of village populations is important from many different standpoints. It is important merely because of the number of people living in villages. It is even more important because village populations are intimately involved in certain great national problems. The cityward migration of rural populations is one of these problems, since many of the people now moving into our great industrial centers are from villages. Town and country relationships create another problem involving village populations. Just as the respective attitudes of capital and of labor are vital to industrial peace, so the attitude of

village to open country and of open country to village are vital to agricultural peace. Yet all too often these rural contacts are characterized by friction and hostility.

Probably the most obvious index that comes to mind when considering the importance of any population problem is the number of people involved. Un-

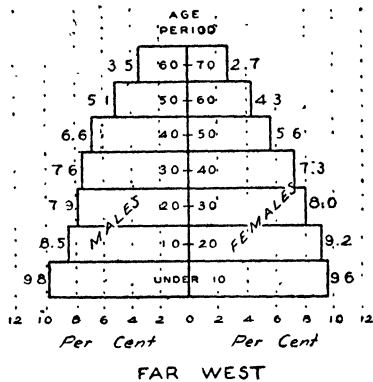
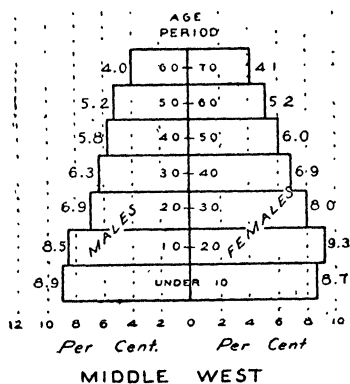
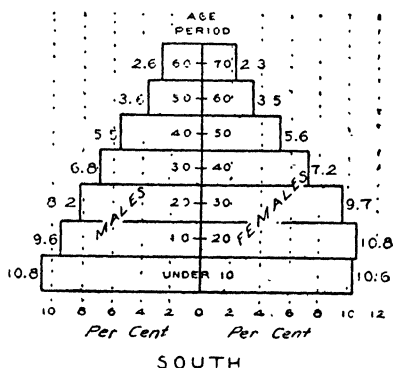
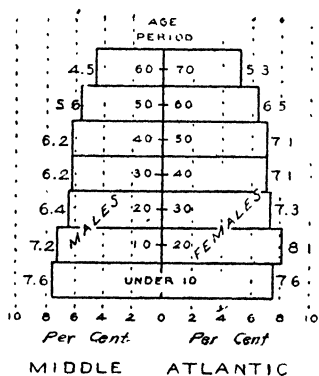


FIG. 1.—Age and sex distribution of the populations in the 177 villages classified by regions.

fortunately, there is no official count of the total number of persons living in the villages of the United States. The Census, of course, gives the population of every village that is incorporated, but does not list separately the number of inhabitants in unincorporated villages. In order, therefore, to ascertain the number of villages throughout the country, the Institute counted, state by state, all the villages listed in the Rand McNally atlas. Following the definition em-

ployed in all of the Institute's rural studies, the term "village" was limited to places with populations ranging between 250 and 2,500. In making the special count of the villages listed in the atlas, no effort was made to estimate the size of villages whose populations were not actually reported in the atlas because it was felt that the village populations thus omitted would tend to neutralize any tendency on the part of the atlas to overestimate the size of the villages included. This tabulation reveals that the atlas lists 16,434 villages which have an aggregate population of 11,186,185 persons.¹ This means that slightly more than one out of every ten inhabitants in America lives in a village.

This special tabulation of atlas villages affords an opportunity to determine the proportion of American villages that are incorporated. For the United States as a whole the number of incorporated villages between 250 and 2,500, as given in the Census, is 10,225. If our special count is correct, this means that 62 per cent of American villages are incorporated. This ratio, however, shows decided regional variations. In the New England states only 7 per cent of the villages listed in the atlas are incorporated. This very low ratio is owing to the fact that in many parts of New England it is not the custom, as in other states, for villages to incorporate as separate municipalities. Figures for the Middle West² show, on the other hand, that 82 per cent of the villages in this region are incorporated, while the South and Far West show 58 and 61 per cent respectively.

As might have been expected, the larger villages are the ones that are incorporated. This is demonstrated by the fact that although only 62 per cent of the villages of the United States are incorporated, nevertheless 8,500,000 people, or 76 per cent of America's village population, live in incorporated villages.

Despite the importance of the village problem, the available information about the composition and characteristics of village populations of the United States has been quite meager. Although the federal government has been accustomed regularly to collect its census data separately for each incorporated village, nevertheless it has never published this information in any detail except for places having more than 2,500 inhabitants. For incorporated villages below this size it prints only a single figure—the total population of each village. To say the least, this is not very rich sociological material with which to work. As a result, social scientists have been compelled, in analyzing village populations, to rely almost entirely upon the findings of individual surveyors. The

¹ These figures confirm to a remarkable extent the estimated village figures published in Morse and Brunner's *Town and Country Church in the United States*, where the total number of villages was computed to be 16,981 and their total population as 11,460,849.

² Following the procedure of the Census, the term Middle Atlantic was limited to the three states of New York, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey. The South was used to include the three Census divisions known as the South Atlantic, the East South Central, and the West South Central. The Middle West comprises the two Census divisions, East North Central and West North Central, while the Far West covers the Mountain and Pacific divisions.

difficulty with these individual surveys, however, is not only that the number of villages studied has been small, but also that nearly every investigator has followed his own particular method of research.

Because the information about villages has been so meager, the Institute of Social and Religious Research decided to undertake, under the direction of Dr. Edmund de S. Brunner, a rather elaborate study in this field. From the outset it was agreed to limit the inquiry to "agricultural" villages. By an agricultural village was meant one that was located in a strictly farming area. This distinction was made to avoid the complicating factors that would arise if in addition to agricultural villages there were included in the same study suburban villages, cotton-mill villages, mining villages, lumbering villages, etc.

The original plan of the inquiry provided for the sending of trained investigators into approximately 150 villages scattered over the country. It was agreed that these surveyors should be sent out in teams of two, and that each team should spend from two to three weeks in studying each village. It was proposed to ask the Institute's field workers not only to write up in detail the particular situation and problems they found in every village surveyed, but also to fill out a rather elaborate questionnaire calling for precise quantitative facts about many aspects of village life. It was hoped in this way to gain insight into the distinctive problems of each village and in addition to get data that would be strictly comparable for all the villages. It was also proposed in a few villages to undertake more detailed and intensive studies.

This in brief was the village project which the Institute approved in principle in January, 1923.

But the project had hardly been approved before it was suggested that the scope and plan of the study be materially expanded. In a word, the change proposed was that the data collected by the Institute's field workers be supplemented by an analysis of the 1920 Census figures for the same villages. The obvious argument in favor of this plan was that it would supply far more accurate information about the composition and characteristics of village population than could possibly be obtained by the Institute's field workers. Since the field work of the village study is still incomplete, the rest of this paper has necessarily been limited almost entirely to an analysis of the Institute's special tabulation of the 1920 Census data for 177 villages.

Before the findings of this Census tabulation are presented, a description of the method of obtaining the material may be of interest, particularly as this tabulation represents the first analysis of its kind ever undertaken by a private agency, and because it should, therefore, be of help to other organizations interested in special tabulations of Census findings.

To Dr. Charles J. Galpin, in charge of the Division of Farm Population and Rural Life of the Department of Agriculture, belongs the major credit for making possible the Institute's special tabulation. When the idea first occurred to me of supplementing the Institute's field study by an analysis of Census data, I went to Washington and saw Dr. Galpin. He encouraged me to go into the

matter further, and sent me to see the director of the Census, Hon. William M. Steuart. Mr. Steuart was very sympathetic toward the proposed analysis, but during the course of my interview with him it developed there was one outstanding obstacle in the way of carrying out the idea. This difficulty arose through the fact that the Census Bureau uses special machines for tabulating census data, and that the Institute could not do its own tabulating without incurring a prohibitive cost. As soon as Dr. Galpin heard of the difficulty that had arisen, he worked out a plan by which, at the request of his division of the Department of Agriculture, the Census Bureau did the tabulating work for the Institute. This arrangement was satisfactory to the Department of Agriculture because it was agreed that the department should receive a complete set of all tabulations.

I have mentioned this matter not only because Dr. Brunner and I wish to take this opportunity publicly to thank Dr. Galpin for his co-operation in this matter, but also because it was felt that such a statement might help to make concrete the splendid service that Dr. Galpin, through his Division of Farm Population and Rural Life, is rendering research projects in this field.

The Institute's special tabulation of village data includes a total of 177 villages scattered widely over the country. Because the Census does not collect its data for individual villages that are unincorporated, the study was necessarily limited to villages which in 1920 were incorporated. This fact, in turn, meant that it was impossible to include villages from certain New England states, particularly from Massachusetts and Rhode Island, because in those states it is not the practice to incorporate villages as separate municipalities. All New England villages were for this reason entirely excluded from the study. Any person wishing further details about the Institute's special tabulation is referred to *A Census Analysis of American Villages* which has just been published as a series of four regional monographs, but which, because of the general interest in the material, is about to appear in book form.

Without attempting to summarize the findings of our Census tabulation, I should like to point out certain facts revealed by this study which would seem to lead to four important conclusions. The first is that the regional variations among villages indicate that the composition of their populations is closely correlated with the rapidity of their growth. For purposes of this analysis the villages studied were classified, on the basis of their location, into four main groups known as the Middle Atlantic, the South, the Middle West, and the Far West. The regional variations among these four groups are quite remarkable. For instance, the proportion of old people living in the thirty-four Middle Atlantic villages is so high that someone aptly characterized these places as old people's homes. More than a third of both the men and women living there are forty-five years of age and over. In the forty-four southern villages, on the other hand, the age distribution of the population is remarkably normal, only 20 per cent of the men and of the women being over forty-four years of age, which is almost identically the proportion found for the United States as a whole.

In view of the complex character of village life, it is not reasonable to expect that a single explanation will account for all the regional differences among villages, nevertheless it is significant that the more rapidly the villages of an area are growing the more normal is the age distribution of the population. In the Middle Atlantic and the middle western regions, where villages over the last twenty years have grown relatively slowly, we find that the age distribution of the inhabitants is decidedly distorted. In the South and Far West on the other hand, where villages are growing rapidly, we find the distribution of the population to be relatively normal.

The reason why villages in rapidly growing areas have populations whose age distributions are relatively normal probably is that in such villages there is a real opportunity for young men to build up new enterprises. Therefore it is but natural to find a relatively normal number of young people living in these villages. In slowly growing villages, on the other hand, economic opportunities are relatively scarce. As a consequence, it is but natural that many of these village boys and girls, as soon as they reach maturity, go off to the city to make their fortune.

The second outstanding fact revealed by our Census analysis is the relatively large proportion of villagers who are engaged in manufacturing and trading enterprises and who, therefore, have interests quite different from those of the people of the countryside. In each area the Census found the largest group of villagers employed in manufacturing. In the South 31 per cent of the gainfully employed men ten years of age and over were classified under manufacture, while in the Middle Atlantic villages this ratio reached 47 per cent. Agriculture, on the other hand, only employed from 9 per cent in the Middle Atlantic region to 23 per cent in the far western villages. The fact that from 75 to 90 per cent of all villagers are employed in other than farming occupations is especially significant because of its bearing upon town and country relationships. Since the economic interests of the two populations are different, we have here a partial explanation of the friction that often exists between villagers and their neighbors in the surrounding countryside.

It may be argued that the differences in occupation between village and open-country populations are not so important as we have indicated, since even the village industries are based largely upon agricultural products. To a certain extent this contention is entirely valid; but it should be borne in mind that the farmer is interested in the actual price of farm products, while the village manufacturer and trader is interested in a differential price. For example, the wheat farmer wants high prices, because if the price of wheat is high his return is large, while if it is low his return is correspondingly small. On the other hand, the manufacturer of wheat products is interested in buying wheat at the lowest possible price. In other words, the village manufacturer of agricultural products is interested in paying the farmer the lowest possible price for his products, while the farmer is interested in securing the highest possible price. Clearly we have here a point of friction between village and open-country populations.

This brings us to the third point which is very closely related to the one just discussed. Are the differences between the open-country and the village populations so great that in reality the term "rural" as used by the Census had better be divided into two distinct subcategories—the village and the open country? Our evidence, as analyzed thus far, indicates an affirmative answer. In addition to the occupational differences just considered, the most important Census facts bearing upon this point are probably that of age and sex distributions, because so many social and economic conditions are largely determined by these. The data show that there are wide variations between the village and the open country in both age and sex distributions. For example, the Census reveals that in the Middle Atlantic region the ratio of men to women in the farm population is as 111 is to 100. In our sample villages, on the other hand, there are only 88 men to every 100 women. In other words, the proportionate number of men is 25 per cent greater in the farm population than among villagers. A preliminary study of the marital conditions also shows decided differences between the populations of the two areas. While our inquiry has not yet proceeded far enough to warrant final conclusions, the material seems to support the view that there are fundamental differences between the village and the open-country populations. A complete analysis of this whole subject is being made by Luther S. Cressman of Columbia University to be submitted as his dissertation for a doctor's degree. His study will appear as a part of the final volume for the village study.

The fourth and concluding fact I wish to submit is that the number of villages within a given area is so large as to indicate that in certain old established sections of the country recent changes in our methods of transportation have brought about a condition amounting to a virtual oversupply of villages. Take the case in the Middle Atlantic states. The data show that in these three states there is a village for every forty-three square miles of territory. In other words, the villages in this part of the country are on the average only six and one-half miles apart.

The very large number of villages in this region can be explained from the fact that this area was settled long before the coming of the railroad and the automobile. In a civilization where the universal means of communication was oxcart or the horse and wagon, it was but natural for agricultural villages to spring up at very frequent intervals. With the development of modern methods of transportation, however, the whole situation has been changed. A farmer in his Ford can now travel many miles where before he could only have gone one. As a result, open-country populations are traveling farther in order to trade at the larger centers. This is but natural since the larger towns are in a position, as Professor Kolb has so clearly shown, to render better and more varied services. As a result, many agricultural villages in the Middle Atlantic region have had the economic basis for their existence virtually cut out from under them. Here, then, we have an explanation of the fact that the villages in this part of the country are growing at only about one-third the rate for the country as a

whole. In addition, it accounts for the relatively small proportion of young people living in these villages. Because the economic opportunities are so limited, many village boys and girls in this region leave home and go to the cities as soon as they reach maturity.

If this analysis is correct, it leads to the belief that in the future we can expect a decline in the proportion of people living in agricultural villages. In New England and the Middle Atlantic states, as well as in certain parts of the Middle West where farm populations are either static or declining, this may involve not only a relative but an absolute decline in the number of agricultural villages. This condition will not be true for the South, since in this region there is apparently no oversupply of agricultural villages. The explanation for this is probably to be found in the fact that up until the Civil War the South was organized on a plantation basis. Even after the War, the old system through force of habit was perpetuated for nearly a generation. As a result, there are not nearly so many villages in the South as in the older areas farther north. The Census shows that there is only one southern village for every 167 square miles, compared with a village for every 43 square miles in the Middle Atlantic area. Irrespective of the future conditions in any specific area, we believe that because of modern transportation methods the rural areas of the future will need relatively fewer villages than such areas have needed in the past.

RURAL DEMOGRAPHY

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ABSTRACT

Rural demography.—The lack of certain basic demographic data relating to rural communities makes it impossible to study their vital statistics in the thoroughgoing way students of rural life would like to do. As a consequence we are compelled to try to get at the facts regarding marriage, death, and birth in a roundabout way which is far from satisfactory. The results of our studies are, therefore, often unconvincing and sometimes the inferences drawn from the data by different people are quite opposed.

In spite of these difficulties, however, it seems to the author that several important facts can be established beyond reasonable doubt. They are as follows: (1) A larger proportion of the rural population than of the urban population marries. Farming is still a family occupation. The farm women also marry a little younger than city women, thus having a longer period during which they are likely to bear children and they marry at a time of life when they are more likely to bear children. (2) The death-rate of the rural population is lower than that of the city population. This is particularly marked when the rates are refined in such ways that the differences in age and sex constitution of these communities no longer exercise an influence upon them. The city exerts a certain positive check on population which the country does not. (3) The birth-rate is higher in the rural districts than in the cities. Just as the cities exert a greater positive check on population growth they also exert a preventive check which leads to a lower

birth-rate. The only classes of the city population who have a high birth-rate are the newer immigrants who still retain their rural vigor and standards of living.

The result of these differences in vital rates is naturally a more rapid rate of increase in the rural population in spite of the almost complete lack of scientific health work in the rural districts.

Statistically, rural communities have been grossly neglected by official agencies, both federal and state. Consequently it is much more difficult to get any adequate view of the vital conditions of rural communities than it is of urban communities. This dearth of basic data is my excuse for the lack of precision in the treatment of my topic.

MARRIAGE AND MARRIAGE RATES

There are no adequate data on marriage and marriage rates in the United States. Little can be said, therefore, regarding marriage in rural and urban communities. The 1920 Census shows that the proportion of married women in the child-bearing ages is somewhat greater in rural communities than in urban communities. Of all women 15 to 24 years of age, 34.6 per cent of those in rural communities are married, while only 30.4 per cent of those in urban communities are married; for the age group 25-34 the percentages are 82.0 and 72.6 respectively, and for the age group 35-44 they are 85.8 and 76.0. Unfortunately these age groups are so broad that they do not permit even of a rough comparison of the effects of female celibacy and delayed marriage upon the fecundity of these groups. It must be considerable, however, for Knibbs, in his study of fertility and fecundity in Australia, has shown that the average number of children born to women decreases more rapidly than the duration of marriage as the age at marriage increases. This is also shown by the number of wives who become mothers in different age-groups: whereas about 40-45 per cent of all wives aged 20 to 24 will become mothers annually, the percentage will be about 8 less in the age group 25-29, and only about 22-27 per cent in the age group 30-34. Thus it is abundantly clear that late marriage, as well as failure to marry, very greatly affects the increase of population. Knibbs has also shown that the likelihood of sterility increases rapidly as the age of the woman at marriage increases. Of women married at 17.11 years of age and who have been married 25 years, thus having generally passed the child-bearing period, only 2.5 per cent will be sterile; of those married at 22.9 years of age and who have been married 20 years, 5.0 per cent will be sterile; of those married at 27.6 years of age and who have been married for 15 years, 10.0 per cent will be sterile; of those married at 31.6 years of age for ten years, 20 per cent will be sterile; and of those married at 37.1 years of age for 5 years, 50 per cent will be sterile.

So far as I am aware, we have no comprehensive data in this country on the age at marriage of urban and rural women nor upon the duration of their marriages, but the percentages given above show that more rural women marry, and the probability is that they marry somewhat earlier. A New York report

recently issued gives the percentages of brides marrying at given ages for urban and rural areas (outside of New York City) in Table I.

TABLE I
PERCENTAGES OF BRIDES IN NEW YORK (OUTSIDE OF NEW
YORK CITY) MARRYING AT GIVEN AGES IN
URBAN* AND RURAL COMMUNITIES

| Age at Marriage | Urban | Rural |
|-----------------|-------|-------|
| 15-19..... | 21.5 | 27.3 |
| 20-24..... | 39.0 | 37.0 |
| 25-29..... | 19.8 | 17.3 |
| 30-34..... | 8.3 | 6.6 |
| 35-39..... | 4.8 | 4.1 |
| 40-44..... | 2.8 | 2.5 |

* Urban communities are certain cities listed in the Report, rural communities are all other places; the dividing line is at about 10,000 population.

These data indicate that the proportion of all brides marrying under 25, and particularly under 20, is somewhat greater in the rural districts. If this should be true for the rural population of the country as a whole it would help to account for its more rapid rate of increase which I shall discuss later.

DEATH-RATES

A discussion of rural death-rates must be prefaced by the statement that all cities and villages having less than 10,000 inhabitants (8,000 in Life Tables for 1901) are classed as part of the rural population in the recent mortality reports of the census. In my opinion, however, the error in the rural death-rate thus introduced is less than that due to the differences in age and sex constitution in different types of communities. That this latter error is considerable is brought out very clearly in the United States Life Tables prepared by Professor Glover. In Table II, I have abstracted a few of the significant facts for urban and rural communities in 1901 and 1910, and also for two large cities. These data show how many males and females would be left alive at given ages out of 100,000 born alive at a given time.

At every age given, the rural communities have a larger proportion living than the cities, and Boston and New York City have a still smaller proportion living than cities as a whole. Unfortunately similar data based on the 1920 Census are not yet available. The best we can do with the Life Tables thus far issued is to group together certain states which are distinctly alike and compare these groups. For this comparison I have chosen the four following groups: Group I, the aggregate for fourteen large cities; Group II, Connecticut, Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, representing states highly industrialized and urbanized; Group III, Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, Michigan, and

Wisconsin, representing states about midway between Group II and the following group (IV), consisting of Kansas, Kentucky, Minnesota, North Carolina, and Tennessee, representing states distinctly rural, although they, of course, have considerable city population.

Table III shows the number of survivors at the different ages out of 100,000 born alive at a given time.

TABLE II

NUMBER OF WHITE MALES AND FEMALES LIVING AT A GIVEN AGE IN URBAN* AND RURAL COMMUNITIES IN THE REGISTRATION AREA, 1901 AND 1910; ALSO FOR ALL CLASSES OF THE POPULATION IN NEW YORK AND BOSTON

| YEAR OF AGE | WHITE MALES | | WHITE FEMALES | | BOSTON (ALL CLASSES) | | NEW YORK CITY (ALL CLASSES) | |
|-------------|-------------|---------|---------------|---------|----------------------|---------|-----------------------------|---------|
| | Urban | Rural | Urban | Rural | Males | Females | Males | Females |
| 0-1 | | | | | | | | |
| 1901..... | 100,000 | 100,000 | 100,000 | 100,000 | 100,000 | 100,000 | 100,000 | 100,000 |
| 1910..... | 100,000 | 100,000 | 100,000 | 100,000 | 100,000 | 100,000 | 100,000 | 100,000 |
| 9-10 | | | | | | | | |
| 1901..... | 76,124 | 83,803 | 79,122 | 85,868 | 73,926 | 76,790 | 73,618 | 76,620 |
| 1910..... | 79,783 | 85,288 | 82,390 | 87,398 | 79,464 | 82,367 | 78,652 | 80,932 |
| 19-20 | | | | | | | | |
| 1901..... | 73,420 | 81,306 | 76,601 | 83,254 | 71,000 | 73,915 | 71,032 | 74,223 |
| 1910..... | 77,469 | 83,031 | 80,268 | 85,321 | 77,097 | 79,816 | 76,389 | 78,875 |
| 29-30 | | | | | | | | |
| 1901..... | 68,112 | 76,896 | 71,745 | 78,228 | 64,967 | 68,659 | 65,311 | 69,209 |
| 1910..... | 73,277 | 78,915 | 76,438 | 81,191 | 72,846 | 75,694 | 72,114 | 75,063 |
| 39-40 | | | | | | | | |
| 1901..... | 61,142 | 72,303 | 65,547 | 73,012 | 57,665 | 62,033 | 56,947 | 62,288 |
| 1910..... | 66,970 | 74,305 | 71,075 | 76,531 | 65,673 | 70,109 | 64,868 | 69,278 |
| 49-50 | | | | | | | | |
| 1901..... | 52,320 | 66,589 | 58,045 | 67,250 | 48,817 | 53,996 | 46,617 | 53,890 |
| 1910..... | 57,976 | 68,435 | 63,936 | 70,964 | 55,683 | 62,017 | 54,342 | 61,372 |
| 59-60 | | | | | | | | |
| 1901..... | 40,299 | 58,003 | 47,023 | 58,874 | 36,752 | 42,542 | 33,784 | 41,733 |
| 1910..... | 45,080 | 59,375 | 52,658 | 62,316 | 41,913 | 49,879 | 40,275 | 49,105 |
| 69-70 | | | | | | | | |
| 1901..... | 34,484 | 42,648 | 31,128 | 44,688 | 21,211 | 26,903 | 18,973 | 25,593 |
| 1910..... | 27,154 | 42,994 | 34,769 | 46,845 | 24,207 | 31,846 | 22,814 | 30,739 |

* Urban includes all places of 8,000 or more in 1901 and of 10,000 or more in 1910; all other places are rural.

The cities have the lowest survival rate, the highly urbanized and industrialized states come next. These are followed by the semi-industrialized states, and the rural states have considerably the highest rate. Two other ways, both of them roundabout and unsatisfactory, of showing that preponderantly rural states have a lower death-rate than those with larger urban populations are shown in Table IV.

In the last column of this table the relative adjusted rates of these different groups are shown, using the rate for the big cities as 100. We see here that the rates for all the other areas are considerably below that for cities, about 10 per

cent in the case of the highly industrialized states, about 18 per cent in the case of the group which is next in industrialization and urbanization, and about 25 per cent in the distinctly rural states. Certainly these differences must be due largely to the degree of industrialization, although there are, of course, other factors entering which need consideration before one can say exactly what proportion of this difference is due to the fundamental differences between country and

TABLE III

NUMBER OF PERSONS (MALES AND FEMALES) LIVING AT GIVEN AGES, OF 100,000 BORN LIVING, FOR CERTAIN CITIES AND THREE SELECTED GROUPS OF STATES. LIFE TABLES FOR UNITED STATES, 1920. ALSO INDEX NUMBERS SHOWING PROPORTIONS OF SAME. WHITE POPULATION ONLY

| Group No. | Males | Females | Males | Females | Males | Females | Males | Females |
|--------------------|--------|---------|--------|---------|--------|---------|--------|---------|
| | 1 | | 12 | | 22 | | 32 | |
| I (14 cities)..... | 90,476 | 92,416 | 84,109 | 86,769 | 81,103 | 83,814 | 78,382 | 78,577 |
| II..... | 90,584 | 92,500 | 85,147 | 87,592 | 82,243 | 84,878 | 77,517 | 79,802 |
| III..... | 91,643 | 93,389 | 86,716 | 88,912 | 83,669 | 85,914 | 79,398 | 80,615 |
| IV..... | 93,161 | 94,330 | 88,720 | 90,326 | 85,704 | 87,286 | 81,146 | 81,627 |
| I (14 cities)..... | 1,000 | 1,000 | 1,000 | 1,000 | 1,000 | 1,000 | 1,000 | 1,000 |
| II..... | 1,001 | 1,001 | 1,012 | 1,010 | 1,014 | 1,014 | 1,029 | 1,017 |
| III..... | 1,013 | 1,011 | 1,031 | 1,025 | 1,032 | 1,025 | 1,040 | 1,027 |
| IV..... | 1,029 | 1,021 | 1,055 | 1,042 | 1,057 | 1,042 | 1,063 | 1,040 |
| | 42 | | 52 | | 62 | | 72 | |
| I (14 cities)..... | 70,031 | 73,042 | 60,959 | 65,351 | 46,395 | 52,557 | 26,260 | 32,411 |
| II..... | 71,579 | 74,417 | 63,665 | 67,402 | 50,727 | 55,386 | 31,255 | 35,618 |
| III..... | 74,146 | 75,266 | 67,642 | 68,932 | 56,702 | 58,643 | 31,715 | 40,599 |
| IV..... | 75,999 | 75,679 | 69,953 | 69,403 | 59,791 | 59,743 | 41,486 | 42,512 |
| I (14 cities)..... | 1,000 | 1,000 | 1,000 | 1,000 | 1,000 | 1,000 | 1,000 | 1,000 |
| II..... | 1,021 | 1,019 | 1,045 | 1,032 | 1,094 | 1,054 | 1,186 | 1,100 |
| III..... | 1,058 | 1,030 | 1,110 | 1,055 | 1,224 | 1,117 | 1,204 | 1,254 |
| IV..... | 1,084 | 1,037 | 1,149 | 1,064 | 1,289 | 1,137 | 1,574 | 1,312 |

city. We need detailed life-tables for strictly rural and urban communities before we can get at the fundamental differences between them in the matter of healthfulness.

In 1915 Professor Willcox prepared a special report on vital statistics for the New York State Department of Health. In this report he prepared standardized rates for New York City and the rest of the state. He found that for every year for which this rate was calculated (1898-1915), New York City had a considerably higher standardized rate than the rest of the state, although for six years, beginning in 1910, the crude rate in New York City had been lower than in the rest of the state. To find out just what the strictly rural death-rate was,

a study was made by the Department of Rural Social Organization at Cornell in conjunction with the state department of health of the data on deaths in the rural part of one county. This study was made in great detail, and the area selected was believed to be typical of much of agricultural New York. This study showed that, whereas the crude rate for the rural part of this county for the ten years ending in 1920 was 15.13, the standardized rate was 10.66. The standardized rate for New York State outside of New York City, worked out by Professor Willcox for 1915, was 13.6. Since this was the lowest rate in any year for the five years beginning in 1911, it seems unlikely that the average for the ten years ending 1920 would be much below the rate for 1915. We see then that the standardized rate for this rural area was only a little over two-thirds that of the crude rate, and about 3.0 below that for the state (exclusive of New York City). This study also contains data on deaths from specific diseases, which show in

TABLE IV

DEATHS PER 100,000 FROM CERTAIN DISEASES IN SAME GROUPS AS GIVEN
ABOVE; ALSO ADJUSTED DEATH-RATES AND INDEX BASED ON
ADJUSTED RATES (WHITE POPULATION)

| Group No. | Deaths per 100,000 of Population, from 9 Diseases Constituting 63.3 per cent of All Causes of Death (1920) | Adjusted Death-rates per 1,000 of Popu- lation(1920) | Index |
|---------------------|---|--|-------|
| I (12 cities)*..... | 939 | 14.7 | 100.0 |
| II..... | 878 | 13.3 | 90.2 |
| III..... | 746 | 12.1 | 82.2 |
| IV..... | 711 | 11.1 | 75.5 |

* Only twelve of the fourteen cities given in the preceding table are included here.

what respects this rural community differs from the state as a whole and from the cities. Such data are indispensable in formulating a health program for any rural district.

Enough has been said here to show that although such death-rates as we now have do not give us a true picture of the mortality situation in rural communities and do not enable us to make the comparisons between different types of communities which are needed, yet they do clearly indicate that rural death-rates are considerably below urban death-rates. Furthermore, it is well to point out that such advantages as rural communities possess in this respect are not due, except in rare instances, to any organized health-work. The advantage in this respect is all in favor of the cities, so that more favorable mortality rates in the country must reflect conditions naturally more favorable to human living. In other words, even such meager information on this point as we now possess points to the city as bringing into operation some positive checks to population growth not present in the rural community.

BIRTH-RATES

When we turn to the consideration of birth-rates, we find even more meager information than in the case of death-rates. For one thing, birth registration is newer than death registration and is harder to enforce, especially in the rural districts. Furthermore, for only one year (1920) has the Bureau of the Census given us any data enabling us to compare the size of family in rural and urban communities. As these data now stand, they are of comparatively little value, because they show us only the average number of children born to mothers according to the occupation of the father. However, I shall give these averages for several large groups for what they are worth. The group of workers having the highest average number of children ever born to mothers in the year 1920 was mine operatives with 4.3; next come farmers with 3.8; laborers in manufacturing and mechanical industries follow with 3.7; the semi-skilled workers in the same industries average 3.0, while the managers, superintendents, etc., of these workers average only 2.5. Bankers, brokers, money-lenders, and professional men as a class average about 2.3. Thus we see that the two groups which are distinctly rural—farmers and miners—have the highest average, and those which are most completely urbanized—the managerial and professional groups—have about the lowest average.

The crude birth-rates given for the white population in the latest report on births are 22.1 for cities and 22.4 for rural districts (including all places of 10,000 or under). In my opinion, for purposes of comparison these rates are largely useless because there are several ways in which they are not representative of the groups we are trying to compare. This is manifestly the case when we find that in 1920 there were 5,378,644 children under five in a rural white population of 44,200,831, and only 4,995,277 children of the same age in an urban white population of 50,620,084. The percentages which these children form of their respective populations are 12.2 and 9.9.

In view of our inability to tell much about rural birth-rates from the published reports I will attempt to bring together in brief form certain other data which I believe will throw some little light on the relative rates in the city and the country, without attempting to express the results in definite rates.

Baber and Ross found in their study of the size of families from which college students come, and collateral lines of the same families (chiefly Wisconsin students), that farmers had an average of 4.24 children; business men, 2.91; clerical workers, 2.61; and professional men, 3.19, when only fertile completed families are included. Unskilled laborers had 3.75, but the data for them are too meager to be of much value. Thus we see that farmers had much larger families on the average than the other classes adequately represented by students attending college.

A study upon which we are engaged at the present time agrees with these findings in general, but being somewhat more extensive shows that there are marked differences between farmers in different parts of the country. We found

that in the northern states the average for professional men was about 3.3; for those engaged in agriculture it varied from 3.6 in New England to 5.3 in the west North-Central states; for those engaged in trade and in managerial positions (probably almost identical with business above), it averaged about 3.3 to 3.4. In the southern states the figures for whites are: farmers or those engaged in agricultural occupations, about 6.2; professional workers, almost 5; trade and managerial positions, about 4.4.

It should also be borne in mind in considering these averages and in trying to see what they mean in terms of the natural increase of the different classes that a larger percentage of rural women than of city women marry, as was pointed out above, and that fewer of them are sterile after marriage. Baber and Ross found about 10 per cent of the farmers' families childless, while Von Tungeln, in his study of an Iowa county, found only 8.1 per cent of farm owners' families childless, while 24.1 per cent of their wives were still under 35. It would seem a safe assumption that not over 5 or 6 per cent of these families will ultimately be childless. Several studies giving us data on this point show that the average percentage of childless families for the clean-handed occupations varies from 13 to 22, probably averaging more than twice as high as for farmers. In the study of the Immigration Commission about $2\frac{1}{2}$ to $3\frac{1}{2}$ times as many white women of native-born parentage were sterile in the cities as in the rural counties. This difference between the cities and the rural districts is not so great for the foreign-born nor for the children of the foreign-born. Taking the country as a whole, therefore, it seems quite conservative to say that the proportion of sterile married women is twice as great in the cities as in the rural districts.

Still other evidence supporting the position here taken is to be found in the proportion of children to women in the cities as compared with the rural districts. There is no state in the union in which the proportion of children to women is not higher in the rural districts than in the urban districts, with the exception of Rhode Island, where the rural population is so small as to be negligible. In the white population of the United States as a whole in 1920 there were 391 children under five to 1,000 women aged fifteen to forty-four in the urban communities, and 580 in the rural communities. If we take only married, widowed, or divorced women of the same age the proportions are 629 and 873, respectively. The excess in the rural districts being 48.3 per cent in the case of all women, and 38.8 per cent in the case of married, widowed, or divorced women only. The second proportion is more significant if we are considering size of family, the first if we are trying to get some idea of the relative rates of growth of the two classes.

The differences between rural and urban communities may be shown still more strikingly by comparing the large cities—those having over 100,000 population in 1920—with the rural population of certain states and with rural counties in other states.

As was said above it is not possible to get as detailed information for the

rural districts as for cities, hence certain omissions in Table V. It shows conclusively, however, that on whatever basis the comparison is made the people who live under more open conditions have more children than the city dwellers.

TABLE V

THE PROPORTION OF CHILDREN 0-6 TO 1,000 WOMEN 18-44; ALSO OF CHILDREN 0-4 TO 1,000 WOMEN 15-44, AND TO 1,000 MARRIED, WIDOWED, AND DIVORCED WOMEN 15-44 (1920)*

| Class and Locality | Proportion of Children 0-4 to 1,000 Married, Widowed, and Divorced Women 15-44 | Proportion of Children 0-4 to 1,000 Women 15-44 | Proportion of Children 0-6 to 1,000 Women 18-44 |
|---|---|--|--|
| United States (white only) | | | |
| Urban | 629 | 391 | ..... |
| Rural | 873 | 580 | ..... |
| All cities of 100,000 or more | 581 | 363 | 553 |
| White | | 379 | ..... |
| Negro | | 189 | ..... |
| Farm population of 8 selected counties | 900 | 594 | ..... |
| Maine | | | |
| Urban | 642 | 378 | ..... |
| Rural | 746 | 505 | ..... |
| Pennsylvania | | | |
| Urban | 695 | 457 | ..... |
| Rural | 943 | 621 | ..... |
| 9 rural counties | | | 916 |
| 25 counties not including places of 10,000 or more | | | 943 |
| 20 counties having no city of 10,000 or more | | | 960 |
| Ohio | | | |
| Urban | 576 | 403 | ..... |
| Rural | 781 | 527 | ..... |
| 15 rural counties | | | 844 |
| 34 counties not including places of 10,000 or more | | | 833 |
| 39 counties having no place of 10,000 or more | | | 749 |
| West Virginia | | | |
| Urban | 607 | 400 | ..... |
| Rural | 968 | 716 | ..... |
| 6 mining counties not including places of 10,000 or more | | | 1108 |
| 12 rural counties | | | 1208 |
| Kentucky | | | |
| Urban | 439 | 338 | ..... |
| Rural | 870 | 650 | ..... |
| 7 rural counties | | | 1315 |
| 7 mining counties | | | 1133 |
| Kansas | | | |
| Urban | 516 | 366 | ..... |
| Rural | 799 | 530 | ..... |

* All classes of the population are included here unless otherwise specified.

I will not attempt to discuss the reasons for this in any detail at this point, but will mention what I believe to be the most important factors in the situation.

1. Children are of greater economic usefulness on farms than they are in towns and cities, thus being less of an economic burden.

2. Country girls are better trained as home-makers than city girls and have less opportunity to enter other kinds of work, consequently they marry earlier with the expectation of raising a family.

3. "Keeping up with the Joneses" is not as likely to be regarded as essential by country women as city women. It is too easy to find out a farmer's real economic status for his wife to be able to pull the wool over the eyes of her neighbors.

4. Farming requires a settled life, and children do not constitute the sole tie of the farm woman to her home as they often do in the case of the city woman. Most farmers have to be at home 365 days in the year whether there are children or not.

5. Farm people are constantly working with the natural generative processes of nature. They regard reproduction in plants and animals as natural, and it would be strange if they took any other attitude towards human reproduction.

6. It is possible that there has been a selective influence in cityward migration, leading the less philoprogenitively inclined to seek the city. One wonders, in this connection, whether love of comfort and safety is a "linked" trait with a weak philoprogenitive tendency.

7. It seems probable that country people are less affected than city people by the numerous causes which lead to involuntary sterility.

NEGROES

Before summing up what has been said I wish to compare very briefly negroes with whites in respect to their vital statistics. Negroes show about the same marital conditions as the white population, except that the women marry somewhat younger. In regard to their death-rate, however, they vary markedly from the white population. On the basis of every comparison possible the negro has a death-rate considerably in excess of the white population. This excess, which in crude rates in the cities generally runs from 50 to 70 per cent, falls to about 30 to 40 per cent in the rural districts. It shows up in the complete expectation of life at time of birth in an astonishing manner. Whereas this is 55.53 years for all white males in the registration area in 1920, it is only 40.46 years for negroes living in states having less than 4 per cent negroes and 46.39 years in states having over 5 per cent negroes. In general this contrast in the two classes of states is between negroes in the cities of the North and the rural districts of the South. The life-expectation of negro males is still less in large cities, being only 38.45 years. For females the differences are about the same, although the expectation of life is greater for females in both cases.

The birth-rate of negroes generally exceeds that of the whites in the rural districts and often in the cities, but when one comes to measuring the increase

of the two groups by the proportion of children to women one finds a different situation. In cities of over 100,000 population the proportion of children under five to 1,000 women 15-44 is only 189, or only one-half that of the whites; in smaller cities it is 326, and in the rural districts it is 555. This proportion is probably too low in all cases, but particularly in the rural districts, due to errors in reporting age, but when the 555 of the rural negroes, most of whom live in the South, is compared with the 632 of the rural whites in the same area it is quite clear that the latter are increasing more rapidly. This conclusion is, of course, in complete agreement with what the regular census enumerations have shown for several decades, viz., that the negro population was not increasing as rapidly as the white population with which it lived, by excess of births over deaths, and that as a consequence the negro population was becoming steadily a smaller proportion of the whole.

CONCLUSION

If the data regarding deaths and births given above are reasonably accurate, the natural increase of population is considerably greater in the country than in the city. The birth statistics for the registration area show this to be the case to a certain extent, but I do not believe they do so adequately for reasons already indicated. For the first time a vital index for certain groups of women has been calculated in the 1922 report on birth statistics. In this, however, the contrast is between native and foreign-born women by states, so that it throws but little light on the question we are discussing. Furthermore, as a vital index of a whole population living in a given area it seems to me to be open to several objections, the most serious of which is that it is based upon only a small part of the population living there. If this fact is borne in mind it will be interesting to note that six states which are largely agricultural have an average vital index of 2723.0 for native white women 15-44, and 2418.4 for foreign-born white women; while six states which are quite highly industrialized and urbanized have 1739.1 and 2501.7 for these two groups, respectively. The average rates for the entire United States are 2040.9 for native women and 2395.3 for foreign women. Thus we see that the rural native women have the highest rates. It would seem clear beyond contradiction that from the standpoint of population growth, the rural communities stand at the top of all groups in the United States, and the incontrovertible conclusion is that rural conditions more nearly meet the vital needs of human life than urban conditions. If this is true now, how much more significant it is that sanitary and medical science have scarcely begun to minister to rural needs. It seems probable to me that the next generation will see even greater differences in the vital conditions of rural life, and because the new immigrants who are contributing most, if not all, of the city increase are being shut out.

The deadliest enemies of man at the present time are not disease, war, and famine, but the industrial conditions of the cities. They not only take their heavy toll in deaths, but prevent their victims from participating in the future because they sterilize them.

THE SHIFTING BASES OF RURAL SOCIOLOGY

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ABSTRACT

The shifting bases of rural sociology.—The trend of our civilization has been conditioned by two great population movements—the rural, the urban. These two fields traditionally contrasted have under modern conditions and especially in this country been vitally related through population movements. Rural migration to cities and the suburbanization of the cities are now active. The rural sociologist must now emphasize the relation of city and country, and pass from the urban to the suburban concept. Rural sociology is still obsessed of the open country and the agricultural village, but recently has given attention to town and country relations. The new and only profitable agriculture that is assuming importance in the regions about large cities provides the basal conditions for attractive rural life. Attention is turning to progressive and growing rural districts, and away from the traditional emphasis on decadence and depopulation. Current studies in rural sociology indicate recognition of gradations within the field and of the complex and growingly vital relationships of rural and urban.

The general topic of the Conference, "The Trend of our Civilization," is particularly timely. Current fundamental social changes are no longer being regarded as "reconstruction" problems, but rather as evidences of basal and persistent tendencies of Western civilization. The limitation of treatment largely to American conditions is less limiting than might appear. For this country is a veritable sociological laboratory for modern life. Probably no other country—even as the result of war conditions—is experiencing fundamental social change in the degree that this country has been in the last decade.

This is alike true of urban and rural life. The papers under discussion are suggestive of the fact that our civilization has been conditioned by two great population movements, not only as a whole but within each national unit—the pioneering of new rural areas, and the growth of cities in its wake. American life is the outstanding instance. The papers have not treated trend so much as conditions but throughout the categories of urban and rural have been employed, and many evidences of the close and vital relationship of these have been brought out.

Perhaps this latter is their chief contribution.

Their approach, emphasis, and tendency in comparison has been rural. This is especially justifiable under American conditions. For our urban populations are still largely externally recruited, and mainly from the still preponderant rural element in the national life. We are still only in process of transition from the rural to the urban stage of national evolution. Background and foreground are in balance.

There should then be no trace of prejudice in favor of the rural arising from a possibly less complete understanding and appreciation of the urban phase of American life. For the relationship between rural and urban has been altogether unique in this country from the first; they have developed together. The very magnitude of the population movements still connecting the two is evidence

that they must be thought of together. This relationship is increasingly intimate and far-reaching as we are passing over into what may be called a "sub-urban" stage in which the centralizing urban movement begins through various forms of decentralization to urbanize the rural as for long the rural did the urban. So that under American conditions it is imperative that the rural sociologist be almost as conversant with city conditions as of those in his own special field. The recognition of these facts will safeguard judgments on the trends detected in the analysis of the rural field.

Such safeguarding is especially necessary when the data are relatively limited and the bases of their collection so various. Considerable is left necessarily to assumption and probable conclusion, and comparisons are likely to be invidious.

In few, if any, countries of the Western world are limitations of fundamental social data so great as in our own. Basal demographic or vital statistics are naturally difficult to secure where population movements have been so great and where social agencies, such as the church and the school, leave to political governmental agencies the entire and well-nigh impossible task.

Students of rural demography are indeed handicapped as compared with those of the larger cities. But this relative disparity of information may have its compensations for the ruralite. For combined with the fact that the country phase of the rural has been much better known—through surveys—than the village phase, and that the larger industrial cities represent urban conditions in their extreme form, the resulting judgments are liable to prove unduly favorable to the rural.

Too great stress cannot be laid on the immediate necessity of representative local studies, and on the establishment in connection therewith of systems of local record on the part of other than governmental agencies. A flood of light on the neglected village phase of the rural has resulted from the recent studies of the Institute of Social and Religious Research, made possible by the co-operation of Dr. Galpin's office in the Department of Agriculture in securing available but hitherto unutilized materials from the census. The recent publication of corresponding data for eight selected counties, isolating farming population and displaying their social characteristics, is another case in point. But rural social agencies could contribute local records, such as many countries abroad afford, that would place rural sociology upon a sound scientific footing.

This is significant in view of the fact that the control and direction of vital and demographic conditions in all probability ultimately depend on cultural factors which are not largely within the sphere of government as such, nor even in the realm of health alone.

The cardinal question may also be raised as to the continued legitimacy of the terms and categories "urban" and "rural." As these spheres of life interpenetrate, the significance for social interpretation of these terms changes. They cannot certainly be employed as traditionally they have been, but may only be used for purposes of distinction, not separation. Comparisons of spheres of life so related by population movements are scarcely valid.

The bases of rural sociology have been rapidly shifting. Less than a decade

ago the rural concept was developed, and still largely persists. A town and country terminology became common, recognizing more and more fully the interrelationship of countryside and center. Open-country life of the traditional American type begotten of pioneer expansion was recognized to be passing, and the various grades of centers, especially those of rural size and type, were realized to have a growing significance for rural life. Growing knowledge of rural civilizations in other parts of the world and in other historical periods combined with intensive studies of American localities conduced to this. It would seem, however, that at the present time there is need for attention being directed upon a new phase, what might be called the "suburban rural," noting especially the relationships of the entire rural field, including open-country hamlet, village, and town, to the larger centers of city grade and type.

For American life is undoubtedly moving quickly into a third stage—the suburban—superseding, in a sense, the rural and the later urban stages. And rural life will more and more be recognized to be suburbanized, as the urban, and especially the larger cities, render the rural districts tributary economically, socially, and culturally. This influence has already transformed very considerable regions in all parts of the country. It cannot but be otherwise as the urban preponderates in the national balance.

The scope of what may broadly be called the suburban sphere is by no means comprehended in the census data for cities and their suburbs, though the tenth of our people there indicated as living within ten miles of the borders of the large cities is impressive enough, considering its ratio of increase and its comprising nearly half as many people as the cities themselves, in several localities more than the centers. It may legitimately be extended to lesser cities which have active suburban developments, and its definition broadened to include other than commuting elements. Naturally such suburban life is largely urban; in fact, only some 10 per cent is rural, and only a fraction of this is probably farming population. But the recent census indication that there are a quarter of a million of farming population within municipal limits would indicate that for the lesser cities at least, the rural suburban will be a considerable number, and quite largely farming population. This "No-Man's-Land" phase of the rural problem has often been hinted at but never explored. It probably represents the most intense and active rural conditions in all phases, and situations toward which more and more of American rural life will approximate.

For there is an even broader and wholly legitimate phase of the rural which this same "sub-urban" may connote. Open country and even hamlet or village life weakens when subjected to contacts with urban centers within a rapidly increasing range of distance. Kolb's Wisconsin studies are complete evidence. With few exceptions for industrial "pockets" the urban places have tributary country and village population, whose contribution to the total community life is lessening relatively. One-half of all the counties have such an urban place within them. There are less than one-tenth of the counties that have no incorporated place (generally 250 people and up), indicating that little more than three-quarters of a million are beyond ten miles from a village. On the other

hand there are more than one-tenth of all the counties in which a single city contains more than half the county's population. These are almost always cities of more than 10,000 people, and may be presumed to exert determining influences over their counties. The detailed nature and variety of the suburbanizing influences of the rural have not been studied, but their scope seems to warrant it.

Rural sociology has been advancing steadily toward a sense of the complexity, the relations, and the gradations with its field. Where the line should be drawn for urban and rural is very uncertain, and even whether it is really worth while drawing it at all as things are coming to be, is an open question.

The importance of this "twilight zone" makes the contribution of Fry's village studies all the more significant, for the preliminary report of findings greatly affects many phases of the treatment of *Significant Factors in Rural Populations affecting Our Civilization* and also *The Vital Statistics of Rural Communities*.

Any treatment or analysis of rural and urban as wholes necessarily ignores the community concept, and is so far forth invalid.

Rural sociology must, as Professor Gillette points out in the beginning of his paper, recognize, and that fully, the functional interrelationship of rural and urban. It may be questioned if Professor Thompson's very pointed closing indictment of the vital conditions of the cities does so. The differences between urban and rural are fully displayed, but these are presented rather as mere conditions than as functional adjustments to life-needs alike in country and city. The economic and social, and therefore the vital, functions of the two spheres of life may be different.

Our American cities are still largely cases of urban pioneering and hardly cities yet. They are what they are vitally and demographically largely because the country is what it is. Conceivably the cities will be better off when they are more largely recruited from within, as they tend more and more to be.

Calculations of the possible effects of rural depopulation need not alarm us when it is seen that despite retarded production the food value of what is produced is maintained and advanced. This result is only another evidence that the new agriculture, which is at its best in urban regions and constantly expanding, may be counted upon for the future.

As usual, the lament is still made over the areas of rural decline. Yet if the obverse of the figures presented to maintain that tradition be taken it is readily seen that there are very considerable, and even more important, growing areas of American rural life. In the main, too, these are in these same urban or suburbanized regions above referred to. And there is sufficient evidence that in spite of widespread agricultural depression these areas are and have been prosperous to a degree far above the average.

Rural sociology must, it would seem, get away from a preoccupation with rural life as it has been to the forms of it which are rapidly assuming importance and suggesting the forms of the near future.

It must get onto the firing line where urban and rural are most closely related and interpenetrating.

SECTION ON SOCIAL RESEARCH

CONTRIBUTIONS FOR CHARITY, RELIGION, AND EDUCATION OF THE INCOME TAXPAYERS OF DANE COUNTY, WISCONSIN, 1922

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The Wisconsin income-tax law provides for exemptions on account of contributions to charity, education, and religion. A recent study of 27,000 state income-tax returns in Dane County, Wisconsin, shows 5,317 in which a definite contribution was listed. There were others in which only the total to these three purposes was indicated and hence were not used in this study.

The total taxable income of these 5,317 taxpayers amounted to \$6,709,932; the total contributions to \$358,810. Of the contributions, 72 per cent was given to religion, 18 per cent to charity, and 10 per cent to educational organizations.

Of the amount given to religion (\$258,476), 92 per cent was contributed to the churches, and 8 per cent to other religious organizations. Of the \$64,127 given to charity, over one-third (37 per cent) was given to the hospitals, the remainder to the organizations listed as charitable. Thirty-six thousand, two hundred seven dollars, or 10 per cent of the total, was contributed to educational organizations. This seems a surprisingly large amount, but when it is remembered that the financial drive for the Memorial Union at the University was carried on in 1922, it is not surprising that 43 per cent of this amount was contributed for that purpose. Perhaps in a normal year not more than one-half this amount is given to educational purposes, largely parochial schools.

The law allows a deduction of 10 per cent of one's income to contributions to these three objects. From the figures already given it is apparent that these more than 5,000 taxpayers were much less generous than the law allows, for they did not average more than about 5 per cent.

A comparison of the different vocational and professional groups throws some interesting light upon the philanthropic interests of the respective groups. Do the groups with the highest taxable income contribute the most? They do not. Farmers who had 6 per cent of the taxable income in Dane County gave 16 per cent of their income to these three purposes. Salesmen, on the other hand, who had 12 per cent of the total taxable income contributed only 3 per cent. Table I shows the relationship of the different classes.

Contributions per person in each of these groups of occupations varies from \$35 for students to \$393 for manufacturers. This table indicates also the amount each member of the various occupational groups should have given had he contributed the maximum amount permitted by law exempt from taxation. In the

column beside these amounts is the average sum actually contributed by the individuals in this occupation.

A comparison of the givers in the various occupations is interesting. The only groups which contributed more than 10 per cent of their taxable incomes were farmers, laborers, clergymen, and those whose occupation was unknown. Does that situation suggest the superior generosity of these classes? Perhaps. But may it not indicate that the farmers had become accustomed to a scale

TABLE I
COMPARISON OF TAXABLE INCOME AND DONATION FOR EACH
OCCUPATIONAL GROUP*

| OCCUPATIONAL GROUP | AVERAGE PER PERSON | | | PER CENT | |
|-----------------------------|------------------------|-----------------|---|---|---|
| | I Taxable Income | II Donations | III Ten Per Cent of Taxable Income | IV Taxable Income to Total Taxab Income | V Taxable Income to Total Donations |
| Manufacturers..... | 6,408 | 393 | 640 | 3 | 6 |
| Lawyers..... | 5,107 | 100 | 510 | 4 | 6 |
| Professors..... | 4,302 | 185 | 430 | 7 | 4 |
| Clergymen..... | 1,322 | 164 | 132 | 1 | 12 |
| Doctors..... | 2,718 | 144 | 271 | 5 | 5 |
| Bankers..... | 2,509 | 120 | 250 | 3 | 5 |
| Unknown..... | 1,143 | 118 | 114 | 3 | 10 |
| Public officials..... | 2,733 | 98 | 273 | 2 | 4 |
| Merchants..... | 2,490 | 91 | 249 | 18 | 4 |
| Other professions..... | 2,078 | 85 | 207 | 7 | 4 |
| Retired..... | 1,136 | 77 | 113 | 2 | 7 |
| People in service to public | 1,400 | 72 | 140 | 3 | 5 |
| Salesmen..... | 2,193 | 59 | 219 | 12 | 3 |
| Housekeepers..... | 750 | 58 | 75 | 1 | 7 |
| Teachers..... | 1,234 | 54 | 123 | 6 | 4 |
| Farmers..... | 296 | 47 | 29 | 6 | 16 |
| Mechanics..... | 928 | 44 | 92 | 9 | 5 |
| Public-utility employees.. | 779 | 45 | 77 | 1 | 6 |
| Laborers..... | 358 | 37 | 35 | 1 | 10 |
| Office employees..... | 617 | 36 | 61 | 5 | 6 |
| Students..... | 734 | 35 | 73 | 1 | 5 |

* Based on Wisconsin income-tax returns for 1922, for Dane County.

of giving when times were good which they continued for social reasons when they could not so well afford it?

If, however, one takes into account the ratio of the total donation of the class to the taxable income of the class, farmers stand at the top and salesmen at the bottom.

The percentages of taxable income given by the different occupational groups was as follows: farmers, 16; clergymen, 12; unknown, 10; laborers, 10; retired, 7; housekeepers, 7; lawyers, 6; office employees, 6; public-utility employees, 6; manufacturers, 6; doctors, 5; people in service to public, 5; students, 5; bankers, 5; mechanics, 5; professors, 4; teachers, 4; other professions, 4; merchants, 4; public officials, 4; salesmen, 3.

Manufacturers, clergymen, lawyers, and those whose occupations are unknown are the only groups which gave above the mean for both actual amounts and percentages of gifts to taxable income.

Those who gave more than the average 5 per cent of their incomes were: farmers, 16 per cent; clergymen, 12 per cent; unknown, 10 per cent; laborers, 10 per cent; housekeepers, 7 per cent; retired, 7 per cent; lawyers, 6 per cent; office employees, 6 per cent; public utility employees, 6 per cent; manufacturers, 6 per cent. Those who gave less than this average of 5 per cent were: professors, 4 per cent; teachers, 4 per cent; other professions, 4 per cent; merchants, 4 per cent; public officials, 4 per cent; salesmen, 3 per cent.

Doctors, people in the service of the public, students, bankers, and mechanics gave just the average of 5 per cent.

Is this study at all significant of the philanthropic spirit of people in the various occupations? On the face of the returns, farmers, clergymen, and those of unknown occupations, and laborers gave 10 per cent or more of their taxable incomes; retired individuals and housekeepers, 7 per cent; lawyers, office employees, public utility employees, and manufacturers, 6 per cent; doctors, people in the service of the public, students, bankers, and mechanics, 5 per cent; professors, teachers, those in other professions, merchants, and public officials, 4 per cent, while salesmen trail along with 3 per cent. This looks like a descending scale of generosity. Probably it is not a just measure of either generosity or stinginess. Standards of living, the mores of each group, and demands made upon some groups not deductible under the law, such as support of dependents, expenditures for self-improvement, etc., would have to be considered in this connection. However, the figures do make clear that there are wide discrepancies in actual practice of giving.

It is clear from these figures that religion commands much larger contributions than education or charity. That is easy to explain in the case of the farmer, since the religious institution is the only one making any large appeal in the country. Professors in the university gave the lowest percentage to religion. Bankers, doctors, lawyers, and public officials gave a much lower percentage than did laborers, mechanics, public utility employees, and students.

Charity ranks ahead of education in these gifts. Exceptions to this were to be found in the case of professors, public officials, students, and those whose occupations are unknown. The drive for the Memorial Union at the University would explain this. Naturally doctors gave the largest share to hospitals. It is quite plain, however, that in spite of these exceptions, the church as the oldest of these institutions commands more of the financial support of these taxpayers than all others combined. Out of a total of \$358,810, the church got \$237,029, while all other religious activities got from this group only \$21,447.

In summary, four times as much was given to religion as to charity, and nearly twice as much to charity as to education. These more than 5,000 taxpayers gave on the average about 5 per cent of their taxable incomes to these philanthropic purposes.

THE CHILDREN OF THE POOR: SOME STATISTICAL
OBSERVATIONS IN DAVENPORT, IOWA

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Social workers have long known that children from poor families differ markedly from children of normal families in their intelligence, school progress, energy, age of leaving school, and size of family from which they come. These matters of common knowledge have, however, rarely or never been reduced to a definite basis by comparing accurately the children in families known to be dependent with children in other families. The Iowa Child Welfare Research Station recently made an investigation in Davenport, Iowa, with a view to determining the relationship between size of family and certain mental and social characteristics of the children of those families. A total of 589 families having children born in the year 1908 who were attending public schools in Davenport in December, 1923, were investigated. Mental tests were given to the children and information was secured as to their school progress, and their elimination from school, and teachers' opinions as to certain of their character traits.

Search was then made, through the records of the confidential exchange, juvenile court, school dental clinic, and indigent book list for 1923, to find what families had received charitable relief. When the confidential exchange showed that a family from the group studied had been on the records of the county poor relief or of the leading private charity organization (the Ladies' Industrial Relief Society) the original records of these agencies were consulted. The families were then classified into four groups: (1) independent families, who had not appeared during the periods covered in the records of any of these relief agencies; (2) occasionally dependent families, who appeared only once and in the records of only one agency; (3) intermittently dependent families, who had appeared on the records of two or more agencies, but who had not more than one contact with either the county or Ladies' Industrial Relief agencies; (4) chronically dependent families who had more repeated relief contacts than the above groups. Of the 589 families studied, 23, or 3.9 per cent, were chronic dependents; 23, or 3.9 per cent, were intermittent dependents; 69, or 11.7 per cent, were occasional dependents; and 474, or 80.5 per cent, were independent. Table III summarizes the relationship between poverty and size of family.

Chronic dependency is over four times as great among families with seven or more children as it is in smaller families. (Data on this point are summarized in Table III.) In addition to having numerous brothers and sisters, children from poor families tend to be stupid, retarded, and lazy, and tend to leave school early. Data on these points for the children from the dependency groups are shown in Table IV.

The difference in average mental-test quotients of children from dependent and independent families is $8.9 \pm .65$, leaving no doubt as to the relationship

between poverty and mental-test inferiority. Of the children tested who had quotients of 110 or over, only 8.1 ± 2.2 per cent came from dependent families; of the children who had quotients of less than 90, the percentage from dependent families is 44.2 ± 2.0 .

Similarly striking is the relationship of poverty and retardation. The age-grade residuals of children from the chronically dependent families are $6.35 \pm .84$

TABLE I

| Number of Living Children per Family | Percentage of 1908 Children Attending Part-Time School | Difference from Families with One and Two Children |
|--------------------------------------|--|--|
| One and two | 3.0 ± 1.3 | ..... |
| Three and four | 8.0 ± 1.4 | 5.6 ± 2.0 |
| Five and six | 16.9 ± 2.1 | 13.9 ± 2.5 |
| Seven and eight | 25.0 ± 2.9 | 22.0 ± 3.2 |
| Nine and over | 33.3 ± 3.9 | 30.3 ± 4.1 |
| All sizes | 10.05 | ..... |

TABLE II

| Mental-Test Quotient | Percentage of 1908 Children in Part-Time School |
|----------------------|---|
| 110-144 | 2.1 ± 1.7 |
| 90-109 | 8.3 ± 1.1 |
| 65-89 | 21.2 ± 1.8 |
| Age-Grade Residuals* | |
| 10-34 | 1.8 ± 2.7 |
| 0-9 | 7.2 ± 1.2 |
| -10-1 | 9.7 ± 1.3 |
| -30-11 | 29.2 ± 2.9 |

* The "age-grade residual" is an index of school progress relative to chronological and mental age. A high age-grade residual means that the child is farther along in school than might have been expected from his mental development; a low residual means a greater degree of retardation than the child's mental age justifies.

lower than those of children from independent families. This means an average difference of over half a grade in school progress at the age of sixteen, in addition to differences related to mental-test ability. The intermittently and occasionally dependent families have children intermediate between the two groups.

The percentage of children leaving school prematurely is 37.2 ± 4.4 larger in chronically dependent families than in independent families.

Children from independent families average 10.4 ± 1.0 in their energy ratings, as compared with 1.1 ± 1.9 for all dependents and -10.1 ± 4.1 for children from chronically dependent families.

The average number of living children is $2.08 \pm .32$ larger in chronically dependent families than in independent. This means that the chronic dependents are maintaining a net reproductive rate about 60 per cent higher than the independent families.

TABLE III
POVERTY IN RELATION TO SIZE OF FAMILY

| NUMBER OF LIVING CHILDREN IN FAMILY | PERCENTAGE OF FAMILIES | | NUMBER OF FAMILIES |
|-------------------------------------|------------------------|----------------|--------------------|
| | Chronically Dependent | Independent | |
| 1..... | 0.0 ± 1.5 | 95.7 ± 3.2 | 71 |
| 2..... | 3.7 ± 1.0 | 84.0 ± 2.1 | 162 |
| 3..... | 1.1 ± 1.3 | 84.0 ± 2.7 | 94 |
| 4..... | 3.9 ± 1.3 | 77.5 ± 2.6 | 102 |
| 5..... | 1.6 ± 1.6 | 81.0 ± 3.4 | 63 |
| 6..... | 3.8 ± 2.6 | 73.0 ± 5.2 | 26 |
| 6 and under..... | 3.1 ± 0.6 | 83.3 ± 1.2 | 518 |
| 7 and over..... | 14.1 ± 1.5 | 60.6 ± 3.2 | 71 |
| Difference..... | 11.0 ± 1.6 | 22.7 ± 3.4 | ..... |
| All sizes..... | 3.9 ± 0.5 | 80.5 ± 1.1 | 589 |

TABLE IV

POVERTY IN RELATIONSHIP TO MENTAL TEST ABILITY, RETARDATION, ELIMINATION FROM SCHOOL, ENERGY RATINGS, AND SIZE OF FAMILY

| DEPENDENCY STATUS | FAMILIES | | AVERAGE MENTAL-TEST QUOTIENTS | AVERAGE AGE-GRADE RESIDUALS | PERCENT-AGE OF 1908 CHILDREN IN PART-TIME SCHOOLS | AVERAGE ENERGY RATINGS | AVERAGE NUMBER OF LIVING CHILDREN PER FAMILY |
|------------------------------|----------|--------------|-------------------------------|-----------------------------|---|------------------------|--|
| | Num-ber | Per-cent-age | | | | | |
| Chronic dependents..... | 23 | 3.9 | 92.6 ± 1.14 | $-5.76 \pm .82$ | 43.5 ± 4.3 | -10.1 ± 4.1 | $5.48 \pm .31$ |
| Intermittent dependents..... | 23 | 3.9 | 88.4 ± 1.22 | $-2.09 \pm .85$ | 21.7 ± 4.3 | 5.5 ± 4.4 | $5.13 \pm .31$ |
| Occasional dependents..... | 69 | 11.7 | 94.1 ± 0.77 | $-0.38 \pm .54$ | 21.7 ± 2.5 | 4.0 ± 2.6 | $4.16 \pm .18$ |
| All dependents..... | 115 | 19.5 | 92.5 ± 0.57 | $-1.77 \pm .40$ | 26.1 ± 1.9 | 1.1 ± 1.9 | $4.62 \pm .14$ |
| Independent families..... | 474 | 80.5 | 101.4 ± 0.31 | $.59 \pm .22$ | 6.3 ± 0.8 | 10.4 ± 1.0 | $3.40 \pm .07$ |
| All families..... | 589 | 100.0 | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... |

In addition to these facts as to the feeble-mindedness, laziness, retardation, and fecundity of poor families, the Davenport study brought out some very striking results relative to conditions associated with early departure from school. The Iowa law permits children fourteen to sixteen years of age to secure work permits under certain conditions, but such children are required to attend part-time schools on two half-days per week. Enrolment in these part-time classes, therefore, is an indication of early elimination from school. The Daven-

port study shows strikingly the relationship between school elimination, poverty, size of family, mental-test ability, and retardation. The relationship with dependency has been shown in Table IV; the other three variables are discussed below.

The percentages of children born in 1908 who were attending part-time school were, for various sizes of families, as indicated in Table I.

Of children born in 1908, from families of five or more living children, 22.0 per cent attended part-time school; of those from families with four children, 11.8 were in part-time school. Elimination of larger families might, therefore, be expected to cut down premature elimination from school by nearly as much as a half.

In addition to the correlations with poverty and with size of family, early elimination from school is correlated with low mental-test ability and low age-grade residuals. The comparisons in Table II are significant.

Among children in families with five or more living children, those who were first to fifth born had 12.1 ± 1.5 per cent in part-time schools, while those sixth to tenth born had 10.9 ± 2.3 per cent. While the difference of 1.2 ± 2.7 is trivial, it is interesting to note that it runs in the opposite direction from what would be expected in view of the fact that higher birth orders are in the larger families.

The complete results of the Davenport survey, from which the materials for this note are taken, are in the hands of the Iowa Child Welfare Research Station at Iowa City, Iowa.

RELATIVE RATE OF CHANGE IN CUSTOMS AND BELIEFS OF MODERN JEWS¹

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The purpose of this study was to apply as far as possible objective and quantitative methods to the analysis of the intangible psycho-social environment² as they are applied in the study of the physical and chemical environments. In other words, to state in mathematical terms psycho-social relationships, as physical and chemical relationships are.

All scientifically induced laws are stated in terms of a hypothetical norm, and variations are computed on this basis. In sociology, however, because the

¹ The study of which this paper is an abstract was made under the direction of Professor L. L. Bernard in connection with his seminar in social theory. It was awarded the Menorah Prize of \$100 donated by Mr. Arthur Harris, of Minneapolis, Minnesota.

² For a detailed explanation of the concept of the psycho-social environment used in this investigation, see Professor Bernard's paper on the classification of environments to appear in the September, 1925, *American Journal of Sociology*.

data are so varied and complex, it has been impossible to abstract as yet such a norm; the induction of laws, therefore, has been greatly restricted.

In the present investigation this difficulty was overcome by the selection of Jews as subjects of study. The psycho-social environment which they have accumulated during their history furnishes an excellent basis from which to measure change. That is, it furnishes a constant from which variations can be computed objectively. It contains hundreds of commands, precepts, customs, traditions, and other psycho-social elements to which the hypothetically perfect Jew must conform. This does not necessarily mean that any Jews exist who do adhere to all these dictates, any more than there are any objects that actually fall according to the law of falling bodies. The cases are exactly analogous. The basis from which change in Jews was measured in this study, their accumulated psycho-social environment, corresponds to the basis from which the velocity of all falling bodies is computed, namely, a vacuum. But in this problem not every item of the Jewish psycho-social environment could be used, since it would have involved hundreds of questions. Only key items were chosen, therefore; those which were considered most important from the standpoint of change. These consisted of (a) six outstanding customs: (1) observance of the Sabbath; (2) observance of the Passover; (3) observance of Rosh Hashonah; (4) observance of Yom Kippur; (5) observance of the dietary laws outside of the home; (6) fasting; and (b) five significant beliefs: (1) belief in the Deity; (2) belief in after-life; (3) belief in Zionism; (4) belief in evolution; (5) attitude toward intermarriage.

Two miscellaneous reactions were also included as interesting in themselves as well as checks upon the results obtained. They were: (1) whether or not the individual had ever wished he were not a Jew, and (2) whether or not he had ever denied the fact that he was a Jew.

The individual who observed all the customs, believed in the Deity, in after-life, and Zionism, was opposed to intermarriage and the theory of evolution, who had never wished he was not a Jew nor ever denied it, was considered as having not changed at all. This, of course, was not strictly accurate, since he may have changed in other customs and beliefs which were not included in this study. But since these reactions are significant ones, they do serve as indexes of change.

So much for the base from which change was measured. But before I pass on to the other data, I wish to emphasize the point that no ethical, moral, or evaluative connotations are implied in the term change. A man who had changed in 50 to 75 per cent of the items might consider himself as good a Jew as one who had changed less than 10 per cent.

The degree of change in itself, however, would be of no great value unless we knew the conditions under which it took place. To return to the analogy of the law of falling bodies, whenever the physicist wishes to know the velocity with which an object is going to fall, he must know the conditions of the environment in which the object is to fall. In this study, therefore, the environmental

conditions in which the change occurred were also investigated. The following environmental categories were used:

- I. Physical factors of the environment
 1. Geographical
 - a) Birthplace of self and parents (nationality)
 - b) Present residence
- II. Biological factors
 1. Age
 2. Sex
- III. "Psychological" factors (for lack of a better term)
 1. Percentage of life spent in the United States
 2. Membership in non-Jewish organizations
 3. Reading of non-Jewish magazines regularly
 4. Language habits
 - a) Read Yiddish and Hebrew
 - b) Speak Yiddish and Hebrew
 - c) Understand Yiddish and Hebrew
 5. Whether or not the individual had ever been the object of anti-Semitic feeling
- IV. Social
 1. Economic
 - a) Occupation
 - b) Income
 - c) Financial status of offspring, i.e.,
 - (1) Wholly self-supporting
 - (2) Partially self-supporting
 - (3) Dependent on parents
 - (4) Helping support the family
 2. Education
 - a) Secular
 - b) Religious
 - (1) Talmud Torah
 - (2) Sunday school
 - (3) Private rabbi
 3. Familial and home conditions
 - a) Father living
 - b) Mother living
 - c) Grandparents living
 - d) Language spoken in the home
 - e) Home kept kosher

These, then, were the data used. The method employed in collecting them was a combination of questionnaire and schedule; that is, it combined the conciseness of the questionnaire with the completeness of the schedule. It contained about ninety items including the material listed above. Twelve hundred of these were distributed through organizations connected with various Jewish institutions of Minneapolis, and a few were sent to New York and St. Paul. Of these, 369, or approximately 33 per cent were returned. The answers were

tabulated as yes, no, vague, and blank. Only the categorical noes (in two cases yeses) were taken to mean change. The results give therefore a minimum, rather than a maximum, degree of change, since many of the vague answers might have been interpreted as negative. For total change of custom observance, all the noes were added and divided by six, because six customs were used; for total change in belief the totals were divided by five. Belief in the Deity and observance of the dietary laws as the most fundamental indexes were carried through the environmental categories separately and compared with the synthetic results.

The detailed results, amounting to several hundred in number, may be reduced to the following conclusions:

1. The total change was 25.9 per cent. This might mean either that all Jews had changed this much, or that 25.9 per cent had changed completely, or anything between these extremes.¹

2. Beliefs showed a tendency to change before custom observance, thus bearing out the generalization of Ross to this effect.

3. Offspring change more than parents.

4. Native-born tend to change more than foreign-born.

5. Observance of customs varies inversely as the frequency with which they must be practiced.

6. Dietary customs change more than non-dietary customs of the same relative frequency of occurrence.

7. Yom Kippur is the most strongly adhered to of the customs.

8. Belief in the Deity is the most strongly adhered to of the beliefs.

9. German Jews (Reform Jews) change more than Jews of other nativity or extraction, and more than third-generation Jews, who are second in order. Russian and Roumanian Jews show equal change.

10. The greatest degree of change in Minneapolis is found in the lake district, next greatest in the south district, and least change in the north district. This is in inverse order to the density of Jewish population and order of Jewish settlement.

11. Sex as such has little to do with change aside from the environmental factors which operate to produce change.

12. At the present time the peak for change occurs between the ages of twenty-five and twenty-nine.

13. There is a slight positive correlation² between increasing change and the percentage of life spent in this country.

14. Belonging to non-Jewish organizations is correlated² with increased change.

¹ It is interesting to note that this figure is close to the mean of various non-statistical estimates of change. These estimates have ranged from the conservative guess of 10 per cent to Zangwill's guess of 33 per cent.

² The term correlation is here used in a non-technical sense.

15. Reading non-Jewish magazines regularly is correlated¹ with trend toward radicalism or change.

16. Ability to read Yiddish is not a marked factor in conservatism, or lack of change; ability to speak and understand it are factors in this connection.

17. Mild anti-Semitic feeling is not an influence toward conservatism; severe anti-Semitism is.

18. Occupations show a correlation¹ between order of change and the amount of formal training necessary for their pursuance; i.e., professional, clerical, students, salesmen, entrepreneurs, and housewives.

19. There is a very slight secular trend toward increased change with increased income.

20. There is a slight correlation¹ between degree of financial independence of offspring and change in outward practices.

21. There is a marked positive correlation¹ between number of years of secular education and degree of change.

22. There is a marked negative correlation¹ between number of years of religious education and change in overt practice.

23. Talmud-Torah training is the most effective type of Jewish training.

24. Living parents act as a conservative influence.

25. Mother and father are of practically equal importance in this respect; they are more influential in the matter of practices than in beliefs.

26. There is a slight correlation¹ between the existence of grandparents and conservatism.

27. Those who come from homes where Yiddish is spoken show less change than those who do not.

28. Those who come from Kosher homes change less than those who do not.

29. Beliefs are less standardized than customs.

30. Face-to-face contacts influence customs more than beliefs.

31. Non-face-to-face, or derivative contacts, influence beliefs more than customs.

32. Offspring differ from parents more in beliefs than in customs.

33. Foreign-born differ from native-born more in belief than in custom observance.

These conclusions may be further abstracted into the following generalizations which are of more direct importance for social psychology:

1. Beliefs show less uniformity than custom observance, and they tend to change before custom as well.

2. Language habits are influential in behavior; that is, we tend to act according to the standards of the psycho-social environment of which our dominant language habits are symbols.

3. Relative degree of observance of customs varies inversely with the fre-

¹ The term correlation is here used in a non-technical sense.

quency with which they must be practiced, and those which interfere with economic adjustment are discarded first.

4. Sex as such has little to do with promoting or retarding change.

5. Mild or trivial persecution of a socially inferior class by the socially superior accelerates the degree of imitation of the superior by the inferior; severe persecution retards it.

6. Primary or face-to-face contacts influence practices more than beliefs; derivative or distance contacts influence beliefs more than practices.

PERSONALITY AND LIFE-HISTORY DOCUMENTS

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This research is based upon documents of personal experience. A life-history document, in the sense in which it is here used, is the record of a person, written by himself, in which his own life is the principle theme.

While a long list of terms has come into existence in literature to designate the effort to record the self, such as life, journal, memoir, autobiography, reflections, diary, letters, and chronicle, these can be reduced to three general types, the life, the diary, and letters.

This research has not been made upon extant literary documents but upon fresh materials, personally secured.

Life-history documents have not been used to any great extent for social research. Thomas and Znaniecki in the *Polish Peasant*, Thomas in *The Unadjusted Girl*, and Park and Miller in *Old World Traits Transplanted* indicate some of the pioneers in this field. Nor has any significant study been made of the documents themselves and their validity for scientific purposes. Several literary studies have been made, such as Anna Robeson Burrs's *The Autobiography*, and Arthur Ponsonby's *English Diaries*. This research project has sought to test out the usefulness and validity of personal documents for scientific purposes. It is therefore a research primarily in the method of the case study.

In general there are two main types of documents. One is introspective and reflective, revealing the inner private life in terms of the fundamental motives or attitudes and the social situations which call these attitudes into existence. The other is the conventional document, which is highly rationalized and idealized, and which deals mainly with external and traditional behavior in terms of social approval.

Both introspective and conventional documents are valid sociological data. They are behavior in the same sense as any reaction (as in physics, chemistry, or physiology) is behavior. The technique for the use and comparative handling of these materials is alone lacking.

Introspective and conventional documents may be further classified into

four types, based upon what might be called the autobiographical motive, the confessional, the egotistical, the scientific, and the naïve type.

a) The confessional document is based upon the attitude of inferiority, of defeat, and failure incident to personal disorganization. It is always introspective in character.

b) Egotistical documents may be either introspective or conventional. The attitudes are those of superiority. The documents show a high degree of self-appreciation and idealization of rôle. Three subtypes compose this general type: those which reveal a defensive assumption of superiority, as in Rousseau's *Confessions*; those in which the attitudes are conventionalized and rationalized, as in *The Americanization of Edward Bok*, and those which are products of emancipation and detachment, as in *Pepys' Diary*.

c) There is a third general group which can be called scientific. These documents are always introspective and represent a deliberate purpose to portray life objectively and in terms of scientific analysis. They are devoid of attitudes of superiority or inferiority. They make no emotional response to social values, except to record the responses which once took place.

d) A fourth type may be called the naïve document. It is highly conventional and represents experience in terms of persons who are submerged beneath a relatively fixed group-culture, and who have no essentially private life.

The foregoing classification isolates the confessional document, which forms the chief interest and contribution of this research.

What interests us in the confessional document is that the mechanism of catharsis or release from tension which underlies it is operative in crisis or tension situations. When catharsis occurs the effect is a pouring out of the mental jam incident to personal disorganization. When socially forbidden experiences become dammed up in the mind as objects of mental conflict, when defeat and failure in the realization of wishes face the person, when habits and sentiments are deeply disturbed, confession as a means of relief can take place. It is a natural outlet for mental tension. It is highly erroneous to think that persons will not tell their private lives. When persons are disorganized and struggling for reorganization, self-revelation is a natural phenomenon. Catharsis is a response to the necessity of readjustment of the personality to social situations. Disorganization is to be understood in relation to reorganization. Penitential prayer and religious confession are cases in point.

The value of documents of the private life, and more especially of the confessional type of private-life document, lies in the use of these documents as a source for the study of attitudes. Human behavior, to be understood, must be studied from the standpoint of the person's own attitudes toward his experiences. Our efforts to be scientific have resulted sometimes in seeking to impose upon another's experience our reactions to his experience. The facts in any experience are the attitudes directed toward that experience by the person having it. Behavior is conditioned and motivated by the person's attitude toward himself and his rôle.

When situations are of the nature of a crisis, when adjustments to situations are difficult, and personal disorganization impends, tension or mental conflict arises. In severe cases the blocking may be complete. It is not too much to suggest, as the result of this research, that the confessional document as herein defined, whether in the form of a life-history, a diary, or of letters, offers a highly satisfactory and thus far an almost undiscovered form of data by which personality and social problems may become explicable.

For the description of the private life in terms of fundamental motives and attitudes no other form of data is at present available except some form of introspection. The confessional document is a form of introspective narrative which has especial values for scientific purposes. The problem of the private life is a problem of the imagination, and the measurement of the imagination does not now appear to be a problem in physiological behaviorism, but a problem of attitudes. In the confessional document these attitudes lie revealed.

It is a conclusion of this research that the confessional document, as does no other form of data, provides an intimate case-study of the private life; that as a response to the mechanism of tension and catharsis it reveals the fundamental motives or attitudes which underlie behavior.

Criticism of the use of personal documents as case studies tends to question the reliability of the documents. Pathological lying occurs in response to defense or self-approval. The confessional document is not defensive in character and the attitudes are the opposite of self-approval. The facts disclosed in a confessional document are such as to invite disparagement rather than approval. And essentially the writer seeks relief from the burden of inner conflict.

Our position here, however, is that every document is data, the pathological liar product as well as the confessional document. The former does not fall within the latter class, but is in itself highly significant and of the utmost value in the analysis of personality.

The merit of the confessional document for scientific purposes lies in the following: (1) A high degree of candor. This insures what in common-sense terms may be called truthfulness. The confession is hot and eruptive. It is not defensive. (2) Completeness of detail. The person writing is driven to write comprehensively and elaborately. In the effort to make others see as he sees and feel as he feels, completeness is a natural result. (3) A minimum of self-idealization. The genius of the confessional document is that it is self-disparaging. (4) A revelation of the fundamental motives or attitudes. These are expressed in the general catharsis, in which the mental content set up by reflection and brooding upon experience is set loose.

After a fundamental classification was secured which isolated the confessional document, a technique was developed to secure life-history documents from persons experiencing disorganization. The limits of this paper do not permit a description of this technique. It is enough to indicate that the confessional document is sufficiently typical so that a technique has been developed to call it into existence.

The results of this research may be stated further in terms of the uses to which life-history documents may be put.

In the study of any particular personality case, a life-history document gives a connected account of the life. The result is a total picture of the personality, on the one hand, and on the other hand, a detailed and genetic account of the situations and attitudes which constitute the life-experience. As in Healy's cases of the individual delinquent, this permits an intelligent appreciation of the forces operating in any particular person's experience, but from the sociological point of view rather than the psychological.

Life-history documents can, in and of themselves, be used comparatively. We have seen that the confessional document rises in response to situations which cause mental tension. These may be called tension or crisis situations. In that they enforce adjustments affecting life-organization they play a rôle in the fixation of attitudes which determine personality. They may well be called personality-making situations.

The following classification of situations which cause mental tensions is quite tentative, but represents an effort to utilize the documents comparatively. Control and prediction in personality hangs upon our ability to secure such classifications. This study has secured the following list of tension situations: health, mental ability, economic, vocation, affection, sex, personal attractiveness, religious belief, cultural heritage, status, and family. These classes seem mutually exclusive, but probably will require both revised and additional terms.

It is characteristic of tension situations to create attitudes. The persistence of mental conflict may result in the fixation of typical reaction patterns. Tensions tend to become cumulative in their effect. In fact, severe tension can probably never be wholly overcome. It remains latent in persons who succeed in readjusting themselves after a period of personal disorganization. Where the tension has been cumulative, life-history documents reveal fixed reaction patterns in terms of attitudes of inferiority. These may be thought of as mechanisms of inferiority. They can be stated in terms of the series *a, b, c, d, e*, in which (*a*) is a tension situation, (*b*) a resulting mental conflict, (*c*) a feeling of isolation, (*d*) a sense of inferiority, and (*e*) a behavior reaction pattern. The various behavior reaction patterns thus far secured are struggle, rebellion, withdrawal, and submission. While they are called behavior reaction patterns, they are in some sense also types of personality.

Life-history documents are rich in descriptions of groups which condition and control behavior. The rôle of the group in personal life-organization constitutes a chief contribution of sociology to the explanation of human behavior. Our thesis is that in life-history documents one may find the attitudes which result from the interplay of the person with other persons and with various types of group organization. This is particularly striking in the study of the family.

It is suggested that the life-history gives a cross-section of a particular group or a cultural area. For example, the life-history is usually also a family

history. The person cannot separate his personality from the groups which have aided or checked the satisfaction of his wishes. The slum and other natural cultural areas may be in part studied in the life-histories of persons who live in them. Cultural areas define the limits of life-organization of persons, and inevitably affect the organization of attitudes constituting personality.

Vocation, race prejudice, immigrant attitudes, and similar problems involving the satisfaction of wishes and the organization of the personal life can be studied through life-history documents. As a source for the fundamental attitudes which underlie all social problems and particularly of personality, these documents promise a fruitful source of future investigation and research.

HISTORY TEXTBOOKS AND INTERNATIONAL DIFFERENCES

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I am reporting upon an incomplete bit of research. My conclusions are therefore tentative. The problem is to demonstrate the importance of history textbooks as forces molding a public opinion hostile to certain countries.

Textbooks are recognized as but one of such war-making forces. They are, however, to some extent, indexes of other similar forces—general educational policies, for example—which are less easily measured objectively.

Eventually the study aims to include the texts of representative countries the world over. Only books now in use in secondary and upper-elementary schools are included. At present I can only report on thirty-two American texts, ten German, nine French, and a few Mexican. Even these collections are not yet entirely complete.

The method has been to select critical and controversial events in history and compare in parallel columns the treatment of the same event in the texts of two or more countries concerned. For example, to compare the treatment of the Monroe Doctrine in South American and Mexican books on the one hand, and in our own books on the other. The comparisons are of two sorts: (1) comparisons between brief summaries giving the point of view of the books; and (2) comparisons between more extended quotations. The quotations will enable critics to judge of the fairness of the summaries. The method is objective. No attempt is made to show which of two sets of texts is the more truthful. That is the historian's task. The only aim is to demonstrate that the next generation, if taught exactly opposite facts, cannot grow up with similar attitudes. Unless other influences intervene, hostile attitudes must develop among them.

I have only time to present two comparisons with reference to the treatment of certain aspects of the European war. The French-German comparison is before you on four charts. Though taken from two of the more striking texts, it only slightly exaggerates the tone of the majority. Shall I read a part of these charts, reading across?

As to the *causes of the war*, French children read: The war was caused solely by German aggression. The Germans have long believed they were a superior race, and have long plotted to destroy the French. German children read: Germany is guiltless. The war had a number of causes, but English jealousy and French desire for revenge were the most important.

As to *peace efforts* at the beginning of the war, French children read: France has always been pacific, and at the beginning of the war she did all in her power to keep the peace, but Germany thwarted her. German children read: Germany made every effort to localize the Austro-Serbian dispute, but the enemy nations openly incited their peoples to war.

As to *Belgian neutrality*, French children read: Germany basely broke the Belgian neutrality treaty. German children read: English and Belgian officers planned the march through Belgium as early as 1908.

As to *atrocities*, French children read: Germans, and Germans alone, were guilty of the vilest atrocities during the war. German children read: The German activities in Belgium were justified. The English abused German residents in England, and tried to starve Germany with the blockade. After the armistice the French abused German residents in Alsace-Lorraine. The Allies murdered German children by depriving Germany of cows.

As to *Alsace-Lorraine*, French children read: The return of Alsace-Lorraine was an act of historical justice, and no plebiscite was necessary. German children read: Alsace-Lorraine is only 13 per cent French, and its possession gives France the keys to Germany.

As to the *Peace Treaty*, French children read: The peace is a peace of justice, whereas the Germans planned for us a peace of slavery. The Fourteen Points are the basis of the peace. German children read: The peace is a peace of enslavement and is a gross breach of the Allies' pre-armistice promises.

As to *the future*, French children read: The Germans are beasts and the German menace will never cease. Therefore, France, beware! German children read: German youth, this treaty must not be permanent!

But quotations are more striking than these cold summaries. Here are two, one French, and one German:

(German, at Versailles)

Clemenceau had now reached the goal of his life. He now could unchain his hatred and revenge against defeated Germany. What concern of his were Wilson's Fourteen Points! "The Fourteen Points are a few too many," he sneered, "the dear God himself had only ten." He wished to set up the overlordship of France in Europe, and to deny Lloyd George German trade. Wilson had a difficult task against them. Often enough he threatened his departure. But finally Clemenceau and Lloyd George wrested his Fourteen Points from him, one after the other. . . . A cry of horror broke from the German people who were weakened by the hunger blockade.

(French)

The so-called German democracy is only a fiction. Only her façade has changed. This democratic and socialistic camouflage only warns us: "Let us in our turn keep our

powder dry." Adversity will without doubt force Germany to transform herself, but we can never forget the evil that she has done us. . . . Up to this time Germany has never been for France other than a cheat who deceives us; a brute who pillages and kills. . . . The great epoch through which we have been living is in sum only an epoch of the eternal duel of Ahriman against Ormuzd, of Satan against God, of beastiality against humanity. . . . The savages on the other side of the Rhine have always menaced us.

The American books are in general more liberal than the European I have examined, whether French or German. But with one or two possible exceptions they all tend to create attitudes of extreme hostility toward Germany. I present a comparison between two extreme types. It must be understood, however, that the thirty-two texts are mostly of the type presented first—the non-liberal type. Long's book, used as the liberal example, is most exceptional. A half-dozen texts, perhaps, should be classed as intermediate between these two extreme types.

With reference to the causes of the war, American children read in non-liberal books such passages as the following: "That the war was made in Germany is not a matter of dispute; it is a fact" (Elson). Germany "was fighting for the domination of Europe and eventually of America" (Woodburn and Moran). The war was the last in a series of events in which Germany had been constantly working against our country (Stephenson).

The same books either disregard the Fourteen Point agreement altogether or give the impression that the treaty was based upon it. Thus Thwaites and Kendall merely say that the terms of peace were the "outgrowth of the Fourteen Points as modified by discussion."

The two books classed as liberal are represented on the second American chart. As to the causes of the war, American children read: Germany appears guilty, but her plot was not a thing peculiar to her. Other nations had had plans of conquest. The real evil was the European system. And it is impossible yet to apportion accurately the blame for the war. The same book says of the treaty: The Allies failed to keep the Fourteen Point agreement which included "impartial justice with no discrimination between victors and vanquished." And again (speaking of the results of the treaty): "Such are a few of the typical results of the treaty we helped to make. Some are good, others bad; some spell freedom or justice, others spell hatred or revenge, or the greedy grabbing of territory that has always led to renewed war."

Twelve American texts do not even mention the Fourteen Points. Only two of them suggest that the treaty violated them. The German books, on the other hand, naturally give much space to the treaty, and compare in detail the Fourteen Point promises and the provisions of the treaty.

Children reading and believing Long's text will feel that America was entirely right in the war, but their attitude towards its fundamental causes and toward the treaty will not be so very different from that of liberal Germans. If, however, they read the more typical books they will hold Germany entirely responsible, and they will either not know that the Fourteen Points existed, or

they will feel that the treaty is based upon them. With respect to attitudes toward Germany, the choice of texts will be all-important.

My most general conclusion then is, that unless some other force intervenes, the next war is being prepared in the history textbooks of France and Germany, and to a lesser degree in those of the United States.

SOME RESEARCHES IN RURAL GROUP ANALYSIS

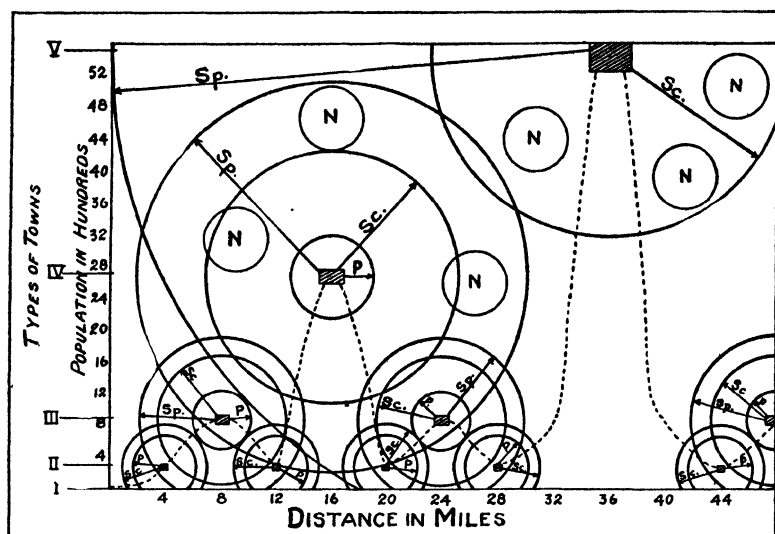
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Group analysis as a method of studying rural society has been, in general, of three kinds: the analysis of locality or ecological arrangements, the analysis of the interest or intentional arrangements, with particular emphasis upon institutional phases, and the analysis of participation and group behavior with attention to attitudes. These three phases of study have not been clearly differentiated in the various research projects. Consequently, the classifications made here will be open to argument. Time will permit only a few most generalized and dogmatic summaries. Attention will be given largely to results rather than to methodology and plans.

1. The analysis of the locality or ecological arrangements of rural groups is represented, among others, by such researches as Galpin's "*Trade Area*" *Communities in Wisconsin*, Taylor and Zimmermann's *Rural Organization in North Carolina*, Sanderson and Thompson's *Social Areas in New York*, Baumgartel's *Social Study of Ravaille County, Montana*, and Kolb's *Primary Groups in Wisconsin*; also by Nelson's *Structure of a Village Community in Utah* (unpublished) and Brunner's *Analysis of One Hundred Fifty American Agricultural Villages* (unpublished).

A few results may be summarized by first calling attention to the types of locality groups discovered and to their interrelations. First, is the open-country neighborhood group which is characterized by primary contacts, simple organization, and the discharge of a few services, sometimes by social institutions and sometimes by informal arrangements. Second, the country community group. This is similar to the first, but larger, somewhat more complex, and more largely self-sufficient because of the greater number and diversity of social institutions and the larger area. Many of the major interests involving both primary and secondary contacts receive attention. Its center is frequently an informal arrangement of homes and social institutions. It is often called a hamlet. Third, is the village or small town group which is characterized by sufficient size and complexity to give it a certain amount of self-consciousness and sufficiency. These groups may be scaled up or down on the basis of size and type of service rendered. Fourth, is the small village neighborhood or primary service area, including within its boundaries those farm families who use its name for the designation of their own locality and who identify themselves in social and in-

stitutional arrangements with the center itself. Fifth, is the larger service community, which is defined or characterized as "an area tributary to a center of common interest." Such an area may easily include one or more open-country neighborhoods. Its center is usually a village or small town. The contacts and service institutions may be of a primary, secondary, or even specialized, character if the center is sufficiently equipped and the area represents a large enough economic base.



A THEORETICAL GRAPH INDICATING THE INTERRELATION OF RURAL GROUP AREAS AND TYPES OF SERVICE CENTERS

Type I, single service (neighborhood or hamlet); type II, limited and simple service (small village); type III, semi-complete or intermediate (village or small town); Type IV, complete and partially specialized (town or small city); type V, urban and highly specialized (city).

P.—Primary service area; Sc.—Secondary service area; Sp.—Specialized service area; N.—Country neighborhood area.

No one of these locality groups lives to itself, but each is related to all the others. These relationships follow fairly regular forms depending upon the types of contacts, the service arrangements, and the "volume of business" as represented by extent of area required to make the arrangements effective. The accompanying graph is intended to show these interrelationships.

But changes in this set of locality group arrangements are taking place with rapidity and with telling effect. The change of most fundamental importance, of course, is the greatly increased mobility of rural people made possible by the expanded facilities for communication and transportation. Contacts may now

be made on the basis of interest rather than locality. This tends to break down many of the older arrangements. Local churches, schools, or clubs are no longer strictly local and indigenous. They conform to certain standardized influences from "higher up" sources of district conference, county superintendent, or state conclave. But as one might expect, the locality groups, which have succeeded in institutionalizing one or more of their interests, persist longest.

2. The analysis of the interest or intentional arrangements of groups, with particular emphasis upon institutions, is represented by such researches as Mumford's *Social Aspects of Consolidated School Areas in Michigan* (unpublished); Brunner's *Churches of Distinction in Town and Country*; Lively's *Rural Social Agencies in Ohio*; Gooden's *Rural Life at its Best in Arkansas*; Kolb's *Four Town-Country Service Institutions* (unpublished).

The interest or intentional rural groups depend more directly upon common choices or wishes of their members. These groups may be permanent or temporary, primary or secondary in their contacts. Locality and interest groups frequently oscillate back and forth. Interest groups, for example, may spring up within a locality group, producing disorganization and robbing it of its geographic significance. On the other hand, an interest group may pass over into a group with locality characteristics, as, for example, a religious group by some missionary or settlement policy may bring all in a vicinity within its pale. The locality groups may be said to have lateral arrangements, and the interest groups, perpendicular arrangements. The latter are arranged around a pole or axis of common interests largely irrespective of geographic limitations. In North Carolina the groups with primary contacts were found to be more definitely dependent upon institutional than upon locality arrangements. While in Wisconsin, particularly in the rough unglaciated country, locality was the conditioning factor. In Iowa, because of intentional policies of farm bureau and extension service, the township has come to have group significance. In New York the primary locality groups have practically lost their significance, being replaced by larger community groups in which the social institutions are, to a large extent, determining factors.

3. The analysis of participation and group behavior is represented by such researches as Hypes' *Social Participation in a Rural New England Town*, (unpublished); Zimmermann's *Study of Marketing Attitudes in Minnesota* (unpublished); Taylor's *Study in the Social Psychology of Farm Organizations* (unpublished); Lindeman's *Social Discovery* (chapters based on study of marketing co-operatives); Rankin's *Reading in the Farm Home in Nebraska*; Kolb's *Service Relations of Town and Country* (one section devoted to measures of farm participation, with reasons for the various kinds of services). The method for study in this section has been to analyze forms of organizations which have been deliberately projected for some purpose; then a study of customs, traditions, and public opinion. The attempt has been to get at the attitudes and social values. This has sometimes been attempted through the stimulus-response formula. No uniform technique has been developed, in fact, this phase of group

analysis is still out on the frontier, waiting upon the steadying influences of developments in social psychology.

In the New England study, effort is made to relate participation to structural and locality factors, to measure group participation by a family index, and to give attention to problems involving social control. The Nebraska study has revealed what farm families read. More study needs now to be given to how these media controlling communication influence attitudes and group opinion. The Wisconsin study of 787 farm families has revealed certain sets of reasons for participation in town and country service relationships. Those services involving primary contacts were dependent upon acquaintanceship, personal control, friendship, or kinship. Those involving secondary relationships, such as merchandizing, banking, and high school, were dependent upon accessibility. When the quality or the price of the service in question was not widely out of proportion, participation depended upon "nearness" or "convenience" to the center. In the field of specialized services, represented by trade in good clothing, hospital or clinic service, and musical productions, variety and selection as well as the quality of the service were the reasons given. It is significant to note that in participation of leadership as represented by office-holding and committee work, the farmer fell far below the ratio of his general activity participation. This immediately raises important problems which need further analysis, involving the question of what is happening when larger impersonal or overhead organizations are being slowly substituted for group behavior on the locality and primary contact bases.

COMMODITY DISTRIBUTION IN RURAL COMMUNITIES

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This investigation involves a detailed study of 238 stores in twelve rural trade centers in Minnesota, though additional data are used to supplement the detailed investigation. One purpose of the study was an attempt to construct a quantitative expression for service in commodity distribution, service being defined as the activities and benefits associated with the sale of commodities in rural communities.

In constructing this method of quantitatively expressing service it was necessary to select representative items of service, such as retail value of goods sold, number of types of stores in a town, advertising quality and price, keeping medium to high-grade merchandise, clean walls, etc. Inasmuch as the town was considered as a unit, the percentage of stores in it offering these various services made a satisfactory basis for recording in quantitative terms the presence of these items. For example, if all the stores, or 100 per cent, are clean, the town would be given a rating of 100 for this item. If only 50 per cent of the stores were clean, then the town would be given 50 points in the rating for this item.

So in like manner all the other items would be counted. It will be noted that this method of quantitatively expressing service does not measure the relative importance of the various service items. To do so would involve data and study which go beyond the limits of the present investigation. However, a ranking of towns based on the relative ratings of service items shows that (1) in general, the service of the town increases as it becomes larger, though size of town is not a safe criterion of service; (2) the number of stores in a town is also unreliable as an index of service; (3) the service which a town gives depends very largely on the initiative of the merchants in it.

Another purpose of this study was to find out what conditions actually existed in these 238 representative stores. Only a few points can be noted here. It was discovered that the cost of service, that is, what the buyer would have to pay the merchant for his services, did not vary appreciably between the large and the small town, though the mark-up did vary for different types of stores. It was found that efficiency of stores was more important from the standpoint of the community than number of stores. It may be stated succinctly, however, that stores which handled staple commodities, like drugs, groceries, and hardware, tended to increase in number somewhat in a proportional manner to the population. Jewelry stores, furniture stores, and ladies-ready-to-wear stores did not increase in number so uniformly as the town got larger, but instead the store increased in size. Two-thirds of the merchants balanced their books at weekly or monthly intervals. The average age of the merchants was forty-four years, and the average period of residence in the community where their stores were located was twenty-six years. The average period during which the members had been managers of their stores was thirteen years. Eighty-four per cent had completed the eighth grade; 39 per cent had attended high school one or more years; 7 per cent had attended business college, and 6 per cent had attended a college or university. Three-fourths of the merchants had some kind of merchandising experience before they became managers of their store. Sixty-four per cent were members of local business men's organizations of some kind.

Turning now to a consideration of the comparative amount of service given by small and large towns, it was found that there was a minimum-size town for stores of different types. A count of the number of different types of stores in 603 rural towns in Minnesota showed that towns of less than 500 in population did not average one drug-store per town. Towns below 1,000 in population did not average one furniture store, grocery store, jewelry store, or men's clothing store per town. Towns of less than 2,500 in population did not average one shoe-store per town. An average of one ladies-ready-to-wear store and one variety store were not found in towns having a population of less than 3,000. There was no lower limit for hardware and general stores. Moreover, the small town lacked certain services of a professional and social sort. Only 94 per cent of the towns in Minnesota having a population of approximately 1,250 had a resident dentist or dentists, and it was not until towns in the population group of 2,001-2,500 were reached that every town had this type of service. Physicians were

more commonly found, but slightly less than half of the towns of less than 1,000 in population had a physician. Weekly newspapers were published in only 84 per cent of the fifty-three towns in the 1,001-1,500 population group. However, all towns in the 1,501-2,000 group had weekly newspapers. Civic organizations of various kinds occurred less frequently in the smaller towns. Slightly over a third of the 132 towns in the 501-1,000 group in Minnesota had such an organization. Only 10 per cent of these 132 towns had libraries. Such inadequacy of services at the trade center makes the trade relations of the farmer disorganized and complex, and in a certain measure jeopardizes the possibility of securing effective community organization. The farmer is placed in the dilemma of favoring the small town as a place to market grain, livestock, cream, etc., but when the same farmer becomes purchaser and user of goods he is handicapped by the small trade center. The way out of the dilemma is to establish, so far as possible, consolidated trade-centers—towns of approximately 2,500 in population—keep only those stores in a town which can offer a full quota of service for stores of their particular type. Rural schools and churches have been consolidating. The time is at hand when trading service must do the same thing. Data have already been suggested which show how far this consolidating process may go at the present time. Towns of less than 500 in population do not average one drug store, hence the logical conclusion to reach is that towns of less than 500 should not try to have drug-stores. There is no minimum limit for general stores and hardware stores, but for furniture stores, grocery stores, jewelry stores, men's clothing stores, the lower limit is a town having a population of not less than 1,000. For shoe-stores the lower limit is a town of 2,500 in population, and for ladies-ready-to-wear and variety stores a town having a population of at least 3,000. The great waste of small competing trade-centers occurs when they try to give a type of service which, when considered from all angles, they cannot give so successfully as the larger trade-centers. When small towns work for efficiency and quality of service with the stores which they can adequately support, rather than to place so much emphasis on types of service which can be given more advantageously by larger towns, they will supplement, and not duplicate, the service given by the consolidated trade-center.

AN ESTIMATE OF RURAL MIGRATION AND OTHER SOURCES OF URBAN INCREASE

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Perhaps the most satisfactory way to treat this subject is to exhibit first the results obtained in tabular form and then offer a few remarks concerning the methods used.

TABLE I

SOURCES OF URBAN INCREASE FOR DECADES ENDING 1910 AND 1920

| SOURCE | NUMBER CONTRIBUTED | | PERCENTAGE CONTRIBUTED | |
|-----------------------|--------------------|------------|------------------------|-------|
| | 1910 | 1920 | 1910 | 1920 |
| Rural migration..... | 3,637,000 | 5,476,000 | 30.7 | 45.2 |
| Natural increase..... | 2,426,000 | 2,842,000 | 20.5 | 23.4 |
| Immigration..... | 4,849,000 | 2,830,000 | 41.0 | 23.3 |
| Incorporation..... | 924,000 | 990,000 | 7.8 | 8.1 |
| Total..... | 11,826,000 | 12,138,000 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

TABLE II

SOURCES OF RURAL INCREASE AND DECREASE FOR THE DECADE ENDING 1920

| Source | Contributed | Lost |
|-----------------------------------|-------------|-----------|
| Natural increase..... | 7,087,000 | ..... |
| Immigration..... | 754,000 | ..... |
| Incorporation..... | ..... | 990,000 |
| Rural migration..... | ..... | 5,584,000 |
| Census increase (difference)..... | ..... | 1,600,000 |

According to Table I, the amount of rural migration is about 5,500,000 for the last decade, as compared to about 3,500,000 during the preceding decade. If we add the amount of incorporation in each case, we find that practically 6,500,000 persons from territory that was rural in 1910 shifted to territory urban in 1920. This represents the population of a city as large as New York, that of more than two cities the size of Chicago, and that of more than ten cities the size of Boston or San Francisco. In other words, the annual drain of population from the country is more than equal to that required to build a Boston or a San Francisco each year of the decade.

We note that for the last decade, rural migration is the leading source of

urban increase, being 45 per cent of such increase. Rural migration and incorporation together make up about 54 per cent of urban increase. In the decade ending 1910, immigration stood first as a cause of urban growth, then accounting for 41 per cent of that growth. Rural migration then stood second in importance.

The country side of the ledger presents a different page. The sources of increase in the country are only two as against four for the city. Natural increase contributes 7,087,000 and immigration 754,000. The country suffers great losses: 990,000 by incorporation and 5,584,000 by migration to cities. The census credits a gain of only 1,600,000 to rural districts for the period.

A few remarks concerning the methods used in making the estimates are in order.

As a means of getting a perspective and basis for checking other operations, a national rate of natural increase was first estimated. To do this, an estimate of the total force of immigration of aliens and the emigration of citizens was required. In treating immigration, the decennial balance between alien income and outgo, as given in the reports of the commissioner of immigration, was adjusted to census dates. The immigrant birth-rate is the weighted average of the foreign rates of the twelve leading stocks and their proportion in total immigration. The resulting rate was adjusted to proportion of sexes and age distribution obtaining among immigrants and was found to be 24.7, somewhat smaller than that for the nation. The application of our national rate would have produced only slight variations in the final results.

The death-rate used for immigrants was that of the nation, adjusted to their age distribution. So adjusted, it is 9.8, possibly too low a rate. I was tempted to use the weighted rate estimated from death-rates and numbers of decedents of foreign-born mothers given in the United States mortality rates for 1920, but that procedure seemed unjustified.

Certain other adjustments of a minor nature were made during the course of estimating the birth- and death-rates. The resulting rate of natural increase for immigrants was 14.9, about 27 per cent higher than that for the nation.

The rate of natural increase of citizen emigrants for the decade was also obtained. The total force of emigration was added to the increase of the national population for the decade ending 1920. From this was taken the total force of immigration. The difference represents the natural increase in the population of 1910, the rate of increase being 11.7. This is two points below my estimated rate for 1900-1910. It agrees with the weighted rate obtained by treating rural and urban populations.

In estimating the rates of natural increase for rural and urban districts, the following steps were taken. First, establishing birth-rates. To the number of infants under one year of age in 1920 was added the number of infant decedents during the previous year. The result was divided by the estimated population living at the beginning of the year. Then the average of this and my estimated rate for the previous decade was taken. This process was applied to both rural and urban populations, the resulting birth-rates being: rural, 28.2; urban, 23.2.

I employed this method rather than using the census birth-rates because by it I secured rates for the total national population. I employed a check on these rates by comparing their ratio to each other with that of rural to urban children under five per 1,000 rural and urban females of the age period 15-44. My urban birth-rate is 82 per cent of the rural rate, but the proportion of urban children per 1,000 females is only 73 per cent of that of rural districts. Consequently the differences between my rural and urban birth-rates must be regarded as very conservative.

Second, ascertaining death-rates. The death-rates for rural and urban populations given in the census volume, *Mortality Rates*, for each year were averaged for the decade in question. These were for the registration area only, instead of for the total population, as was the case with the birth-rates. The consequent rates of natural increase were: rural, 15.2, urban, 7.6. As previously remarked, when weighted by the rural and urban populations and averaged, the resulting national rate agrees with that obtained by another method.

From data in the census, it is learned what proportion of net immigration of the last decade lived in city and country. Then to obtain the contributions immigration made to city and country growth it is only necessary to apportion the total immigration previously estimated between rural and urban districts, the amounts being: rural, 754,000; urban, 2,830,000.

Incorporation represents the population living in that portion of urban territory in 1920 that was rural in 1910, together with its natural increase and less that portion of immigration resident there but already accounted for under immigration. Incorporation so computed amounted to 990,000.

I have been compelled to identify farm population with rural population in making these estimates, because no data exist for the former as a separate entity. But it is likely that the farm population constitutes about 60 or 65 per cent of what the census denominates "rural population." We might think that some such percentage of the rural migration emanates from the open country.

ASPECTS AND TENDENCIES OF THE RACE PROBLEM (1912-24)

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In what follows there is given the more important results of a study of aspects and tendencies of the race problem in the past thirteen years. I present first what I call, for the want of a better term, some secondary aspects of the problem.

1. There is the economic progress of the group. In the past ten years Negroes have entered industry in a large way. The 1920 Census reports 332,249

Negroes engaged in skilled and semi-skilled work. The wealth of the group in 1912 was estimated to be \$700,000,000. The wealth of the group at present is around \$2,000,000,000, which is one and one-half times more wealth than it had accumulated up to 1912.

2. There is the educational progress of the group. The total amount expended in 1912 for all phases of Negro education was \$13,576,561; the amount expended this year for Negro education is over \$40,000,000. The past thirteen years have witnessed an ever increasing demand in all lines of work for the educated Negro. The improvement in education is reflected in the increase in the number of students in elementary, secondary, and higher courses. This improvement is especially reflected in the increase in the number completing college courses. Up to 1912 about 5,000 Negroes had completed college courses. In the period 1912-24 about 5,000 Negroes graduated from college. That is, in the past thirteen years as many Negroes graduated from college as in all the previous years.

3. There is the progress which, in the past thirteen years, has been made in health improvement. The Negro now has a declining mortality rate and an increasing life-span. In 1912 the death-rate per thousand was 22.9. In 1922, ten years later, the death-rate was 15.7 per thousand; a decrease for the period of 31.5 per cent. A recent study of mortality among the 1,800,000 Negro policyholders of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company indicates that since 1912 there has been an increase of five years in the life-expectancy of the Negro. In 1912 the average expectancy by life for the Negro Metropolitan policyholders, male and female, of all ages from two years up, was: for males 41.32 years; for females, 41.30 years. In 1922 the expectancy of life was for males 46.91 years; for females, 46.10 years. In 1912 the life-span for the Negroes of the country as a whole was about 35 years. It is now about 40 years. That is, since 1912 the life-span of the Negroes of the country has been increased five years.

4. There is the Negro in politics. The period under consideration witnessed an increased activity of the Negro in politics. Some striking features of this activity were: The tendency to develop independence in politics; an increasing number of Negroes voting the Democratic ticket. Political parties are making efforts to get the Negro vote. In the presidential campaign which has just closed, special Negro campaign bureaus were maintained by the Republican, Democratic, and Third Party national campaign committees. There is an increase in the number of Negroes elected to office. In 1914 there were eight Negro members of city councils. In 1921, these members numbered twenty-one. There were, in 1915, two Negro members of state legislatures; in 1924 there were twelve. It is also of importance to note that, in 1915, I had a record of fourteen cities with Negro policemen; in 1924 there are seventy cities which have Negro policemen. The entry and activity of Negro women in politics also is notable, as well as the gradual increase in the South of the number of Negroes qualified to vote, and the increased efforts of Negroes to vote in and break down the "white primary" in the South. With the Negro dividing his vote, and an increas-

ing number voting the Democratic ticket, the maintenance of the so-called "white primary" becomes a more difficult problem.¹

5. There are the population shifts which have taken place in the past thirteen years. During this period there occurred the greatest movement of Negroes which has ever taken place in this country. In addition to the migration from the country to the cities and from the South to the North, 200,000 Negro soldiers were transported to Europe and back again. The net result of the migration is that there are now almost a million more Negroes living in cities than there were thirteen years ago, and over half a million more Negroes living in the North than were in 1912.

We pass to the consideration of some primary aspects of the race problem. One of these is lynching. Beginning with 1912, there has been increased publicity in the press of the country as a whole with reference to lynching. There has been in recent years a striking growth of public opinion against lynching. In the period, 1912-24, eight states passed laws designed to check lynching. A federal bill against lynching is now pending in Congress. There has been in the past thirteen years a notable decrease in the number of lynchings. In the period 1912-24 there were 705 lynchings. This was 40 per cent less than the number, 1,177, for the previous thirteen years, and 67 per cent less than the number, 2,137, for the thirteen years before that time.

The second primary aspect of the problem is segregation. (1) The efforts to restrict by law the areas in which Negroes shall live began in 1911. From then to 1917 a number of cities in border and southern states passed segregation laws. (2) In 1917 the United States Supreme Court declared the segregation laws invalid. (3) Since 1917, two new devices have become evolved for legalizing segregation: (a) By zoning ordinances. (b) By property-owners' contract. (4) The legality of these methods is now being tested in the courts. (5) In numerous instances bombing and other violent methods have been used in attempting to intimidate and drive out Negroes.

The third primary aspect of the problem is riots. The thirteen years, 1912-24, have been notable for the number of race riots which have occurred. Some of these riots were the most serious which have taken place in the history of the nation. Some of the immediate causes of the riots were: the migration of

¹ In 1922 the supreme court of the state of Texas ruled that the Democratic party had a right to hold a "white primary." In 1923 the Texas legislature passed a law prohibiting Negroes from participating in "Democratic primaries." October 20, 1924, the United States Supreme Court ruled out, on the ground that "cause of action had ceased to exist," a case brought in 1921 by Negroes of Houston, Texas, to restrain the election judges of that city from holding a strictly "white voters' primary." On July 26, 1924, Dr. L. A. Nixon, colored, of El Paso, Texas, and a regular Democrat of many years' standing who had voted in previous Democratic primaries, was denied the privilege of casting his ballot. He brought suit for \$5,000 damages against the election judges and to test the constitutionality of the law. This case is being carried through the Texas courts up to the United States Supreme Court.

Negroes; an intensified housing situation; exaggerated reports concerning crimes by Negroes; the state of the public mind with reference to the Negro and his place; the disposition of Negroes not to recede from what they considered a just position. Another probable cause was that, almost without exception, the widespread presentation of the Negro in moving pictures was either as a buffoon or a criminal.

The fourth aspect of the problem is the notable growth of race consciousness which has taken place since 1912. Chief among the causes of this growth are: (1) The general rapid economic and educational progress of the group. (2) The world-war conditions. (3) The contacts which Negroes throughout the world have established in recent years with each other. Manifestations of this race consciousness are a growing race pride, increasing race solidarity, the development of race literature, including hymns and poems which are national in their expressions, and an increasing effort of the group to gain for itself those rights and privileges which are its due.

The fifth primary aspect of the problem is the increase in efforts for the betterment of race relations. There were, first, joint conferences of whites and Negroes on race relations, where face to face they talked to, and not about, each other. A second factor has been the presentation of facts rather than expressions of opinion. Among the chief agencies for the general dissemination of these facts were the *Negro Year Book*, first published in 1912, the Southern Publicity Committee, and the Hampton Institute Press Service. A third factor is the growth of inter-racial co-operation. Whites and Negroes worked together in the world-war period. The result of their working together in the world-war activities brought them into a more helpful relationship. Out of the spirit of the war co-operation, the after-war inter-racial co-operation developed. In November, 1918, the Commission on Inter-racial Co-operation was formed and an organized effort was begun to better race relations. The Commission has organized state inter-racial committees of whites and Negroes in most of the southern states, and local inter-racial committees in some eight hundred counties in the south.

A fourth important factor has been the changed attitude and the activities of the church with respect to race relation. Some two years ago, the Federal Council of Churches established a commission on race relations which is carrying on an active campaign to assist in improving race relations. An important feature of this activity is the annual observance of race-relations Sunday, at which time an effort is made to have sermons on race relations preached in pulpits throughout the nation. A fifth important feature is the increasing tendency of white women's organizations in the South to work for the betterment of Negroes and to bring about co-operation of white and Negro women. A sixth feature is the striking growth of efforts to study the problem. There are the Phelps-Stokes Fund fellowships for the study of the Negro at the universities of Virginia and Georgia; The Y.M.C.A. study course on the Negro in white colleges of the South; the establishing, in 1915, of the Association for the Study

of Negro Life and History; the increasing number of courses on the Negro and on race relations in universities and colleges. In 1922 the study of the Negro was made the home-missions study subject for mission classes in the churches of the country. This greatly stimulated the writing of books on the study of the Negro, with the result that in the three years, 1922-24, there have been twenty-two race-relations study books published, five of which are for juveniles, and seventeen for adults.¹

¹ Race relations study books: (1) For juveniles: *The Magic Box*, Anita B. Ferris, Council of Women for Home Missions and Missionary Education Movement of the United States and Canada, New York, 1922; *The Handicapped Winners: a Race-Relations Reader*, Sara Estelle Haskins, Board of Missions (Women's Work) of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, Nashville (Tennessee), 1922; *The Stories Of Black Folk For Little Folk*, Bessie Landrum, the A. B. Caldwell Publishing Company, Atlanta, 1923; *A Boy's Life of Booker T. Washington*, W. C. Jackson, the Macmillan Company, New York, 1922; *The Negro Boy and Girl: Study Book for Juniors*, S. J. Fisher, Board of Missions for Freedmen of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, Pittsburgh, 1923. (2) For adults: *The Trend of the Races: a Home-Mission Study Book*, George E. Haynes, Council of Women for Home Missions and Missionary Education Movement of the United States and Canada, New York, 1922; *Race Grit; Adventures on the Borderland of Liberty* (for mission-study classes and also for the general reader), Coe Hayne, Department of Missionary Education, Board of Education of the Northern Baptist Convention, the Judson Press, Philadelphia, 1922; *Wanted—Leaders: a Study of Negro Development*, Theodore D. Bratton, Department of Missions and Church Extension, the Episcopal Church, New York, 1922; *Wanted—Leaders: a Study of Negro Development; Suggestions for Group Discussion and Individual Study* (guide for the use of Bishop Bratton's book), Laura F. Boyer, Department of Missions and Church Extension, New York, 1922; *In the Vanguard of a Race*, L. H. Hammond, Council of Women for Home Missions and Missionary Education Movement of the United States and Canada, New York, 1922; *The Negro from Africa to America*, W. D. Weatherford, George H. Doran Company, New York, 1924; *The Clash of Color*, Basil Mathews, Missionary Education Movement of the United States and Canada, New York, 1924; *Of One Blood: a Short Study of the Race Problem*, Robert E. Speer, Council of Women for Home Missions and Missionary Education Movement of the United States and Canada, New York, 1924; *Race And Race Relations: a Christian View of Human Contacts*, Robert E. Speer, Fleming H. Revell Company, New York, 1924; *Christianity and the Race Problem*, J. H. Oldham, Student Christian Movement, London, 1924. *The Problem of Race* (a study outline based on Oldham's *Christianity and the Race Problem*), Christian Student Movement, London, 1924; *The Gift of Black Folk: the Negroes in the Making of America*, W. E. B. DuBois, "Knights of Columbus Contribution Series," the Stratford Company, Boston, 1924; *And Who Is My Neighbor? An Outline Study of Race Relations in America*, Part I, Association Press, New York, 1924; *Racial Relations and the Christian Ideal: a Discussion Course for College Students*, Student Volunteer Movement, New York, 1923; *The Basis of Racial Adjustment: a Study Outline and Readings On the Progress of the Negro*, T. J. Woofter, Jr., Ginn and Company, New York, 1925; *Race Prejudice*, Erle Fiske Young, Chicago, 1925; *Races, Nations and Classes*, Herbert Adolphus Miller (for advanced study of race conflict), J. B. Lippincott Company, Philadelphia, 1924.

The tendencies of the race problem in the United States since 1912 appears to be as follows:

1. There is a tendency for the more acute and constant points of race friction to shift from rural districts to urban centers.
2. The general advance of the Negroes has tended (a) to change their status, (b) to change their outlook, and (c) to bring them into contact with the white group in a greater and more varied number of ways.
3. These contacts with the white group tend more and more to be contacts with the progressive, the intelligent elements of the Negro group.
4. These newer and more numerous contacts in some instances tend to create conflict situations which turn primarily not upon the ignorance, the backwardness of the Negro group, but upon its progressiveness, its intelligence. The agitation and friction now going on as to where Negroes shall live in cities centers about the efforts of progressive intelligent members of the group to secure better places in which to live.
5. There is a growing tendency, particularly in the South, to endeavor to handle the problems of race relations by whites and Negroes coming together on a basis of co-operation and working together for the best interests of both races. The general advantage of this method is that representatives of both groups may meet face to face and outline policies which are of mutual benefit to each of the groups and to the whole community.

DENSITY OF POPULATION AND THE STANDARD OF LIVING IN NORTH CHINA

C. G. DITTMER

During the years 1914 to 1917, and 1918 to 1921, while teaching in the American Indemnity College in Peking, China, I interested myself in the study of population pressure in North China and its effect on the standard of living. The study was made more difficult, but also more interesting, due to the fact that nothing had as yet been done on the standard of living in China, that there were no vital statistics of any value whatever, and that even the official census reports represented little more than "pagodas of guesses."

We know that the area of China Proper (the eighteen provinces) is approximately one-half that of the United States of America, and that the various official and semi-official estimates of the population vary all the way from 350,000,000 to 450,000,000. The 1902 Census, which is as valuable as any, gives the population of China Proper as 410,000,000, and places the crude density of the whole at 268 per English square mile, with provincial densities ranging all the way from 66 for Kwangsi to 683 for Shantung.

Crude densities of this sort are of little value unless we know something of the stage of economic development of the country and its geographical environ-

ment. It is impossible to compare American and European densities with those of China, due to the fact that China is still supported almost entirely by a medieval type of agriculture and without the extensive aid of supporting industries. She has not even sufficiently developed means of communication to make effective trade and commerce possible between districts one hundred miles apart.

China's population, aside from a small number of large cities, is one of agricultural villages ranging in size from 25 to 500 families. One hundred families seems to be the most usual size, and these are distributed at the rate of about one to the square mile in arable sections.

My first problem was to gain some idea of the effective density of population. This was done by the sampling process, and was facilitated by the fact that the entire agricultural population lives in village rather than in separate farm-home units. The following results were obtained.

The county of Tang in the province of Chihli, according to figures furnished by the chief magistrate of the county, has an area of 900 square miles and a crude density of 189. This seemed impossible, but then, his figures also showed the females of the county to represent but 39 per cent of the total population. It is not strange that we thought it worth while to gather some statistics of our own, and in so doing marked off an area of 20 square miles and found it to include 50 villages ranging in size from 20 to 500 families and with an effective density of 2,600 to the arable square mile.

In Wang Tu and adjoining county we found but 956 to the square mile, and this county was more fertile, more prosperous, and nearer the railroad.

In an industrial district where agriculture is supplemented by handicraft weaving we found a density of 2,000.

In Shantung, with a crude density of 683 to the square mile we found densities of 2,500, 2,700, and 3,000.

In Jao Yang County, in an area of 200 square miles there are 214 villages and a density of population of 1,500.

In the metropolitan district to the west of Peking, destitute Manchus, who prefer genteel starvation to manual labor, are existing at the rate of 2,000 to the square mile.

Professor Tayler, in his post-famine studies, presents thirteen cases which range from 290 to 6,880 to the square mile.

A group of Congregational missionaries located in the city of Paotingfu have, with no attempt at scientific accuracy, conservatively estimated the crude density of the 25 counties which comprise their field at 1,000. As this area is fairly mountainous, the effective density is probably twice that amount.

As a result of these samples and other available estimates I have come to the conclusion that we may expect in agricultural China, and that is practically all of China, a density, varying with the fertility of the soil and other determining factors of productivity, of anything between 1,500 and 2,500 to the square mile. We would be quite safe in striking an average of 2,000, but even the lowest

figure is bad enough. A condition of this sort means farms of between one and two acres per family, and that farm villages are as close together as farmhouses are here in the Middle West. The post-famine studies of Professor Tayler show that one-third of the farms are less than one acre in size, two-thirds are less than two acres, and that only one-tenth of 1 per cent are as large as 160 acres, a very common size in America.

My second problem was that of the standard of living which might be maintained under conditions of such density. My first findings, based on the study of 195 families in a rural district near Peking, were published in the *Quarterly Journal of Economics* of November, 1918. During the next three years I studied 434 more families in six different provinces. My study followed the same general lines as that of Engle in Saxony and the various similar studies which have been made in the United States. As house and land are usually owned by the peasants of North China I included the rent value of these items as a part of their income. Due to the fact that much of the fuel used is gathered in the form of twigs and stubble from the field and mountain side, I estimated the value of such fuel gathered and included it as a part of the income. As it will be impossible to present the entire content of my tables I will content myself with giving an idea of the extremes of variation and a description of the standard of living of the modal family. Please bear in mind that all sums of money mentioned are in terms of Chinese currency, commonly called "Mex," and are the equivalent of approximately one-half that amount in our money.

Families were classified in \$25 income groups, and incomes were found to range from \$20 to \$1,000 per year. The modal group has an income of \$82 per year, but saving does not seem to begin to take place till incomes of \$100 or over have been reached.

In the lowest expenditure group, 71 per cent of the income goes for food alone, 1 per cent for clothing, 24.5 per cent for fuel, 2.5 per cent for house rent, nothing for land, and 1 per cent for all other miscellaneous purposes. These are on the basis of incomes of \$20 per year, and include a deficit of \$0.50. These families live in one-room houses, have no land of their own, and gather all the fuel they use from the fields.

In contrast to this the \$1,000 families at the upper end of the scale spend 46 per cent on food, 12 per cent on clothing, 5 per cent on light and fuel, 3 per cent on house, 5 per cent on land, and have 29 per cent remaining for various miscellaneous purposes. This family arrives at the end of the year with a surplus of \$200, lives in a ten-room house, buys all the fuel it consumes, and has fifteen acres of land.

These are the extremes, and of them we may conclude that the first would not sustain life in America, and that the highest is below what we would consider a normal minimum.

Let us turn to the modal group and see what the standard is. They have, as we have already pointed out, a yearly income of \$82. They arrive at the end of

the year with a deficit of \$1.26. This family is composed of 4.4 individuals of whom 1.6 are children. There have been numerous other children, but most of them have died or disappeared in early infancy. They live in a house of 4.8 rooms which, if other things were equal, would indicate no evidence of crowding. The rent value of the house is \$4.15 per year, and that is all it would be worth in any place. It is a pretty poor sort of a hovel, built about one end and part of the side of a mud-walled courtyard. They have two-thirds of an English acre of land from which they gain practically all of their support. For food they spend \$55.13, which is 67 per cent of their income. They eat meat but once a year, and live on two meals per day. Meat and tea are the only luxuries they have ever tasted, and it is a fact that they have never had what we would call a square meal in their lives. Their clothing costs \$3.09, or some 3.7 per cent of their income. This amount is hardly sufficient to maintain their clothing in proper repair, to say nothing of acquiring new garments. The value of the fuel they consume is \$9.82, but more than half of the amount is gathered from the fields, and the main money expenditure is for oil for lighting. It requires a full day's work to provide a day's fuel for the family. Thus nearly 12 per cent goes for this purpose. For miscellaneous purposes the family spends the magnificent amount of \$3.89. This amounts to 4.7 per cent of their income and has to supply everything aside from the barest necessities of life.

A standard of living like this is the price the inhabitants of North China must pay for one of the most serious conditions of overpopulation on record. It is a bare subsistence standard which is maintained in the face of a tremendous birth-rate only because the death-rate is equally high. There is no evidence that the population of China is increasing at all, and there is every evidence that the standard of living has struck bottom; that a Malthusian balance has been at last attained.

From these and other studies I have concluded that \$100 is necessary to keep a Chinese family in *normal comfort* according to *local standards*. Approximately one-half of my families live on less than this amount.

On the basis of a *normal efficiency diet* prepared at the Peking Union Medical College for the North China family of five, it has been estimated¹ that the cost of food alone should be between \$150 and \$160 when we consider that 71 per cent of our families have less than this amount for all purposes, we have a striking indication of the problem which China is facing.

The Emperor Chien Lung anticipated Malthus by five years when he called upon all classes of his subjects to "economize the gifts of heaven, lest, ere long, the people exceed the means of subsistence." But the voice they have heeded has been that of the sage which warned them that "of the three great evils, the greatest is to die without posterity." Young China is now preaching a new gospel to the effect that "of the three great evils, the greatest is to bring more children into the world than can be properly supported."

¹ By Professor J. B. Tayler.

A DEPENDENCY INDEX FOR MINNEAPOLIS

F. STUART CHAPIN, UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

The quantitative study of social change is a subject of growing interest among sociologists, and a matter of theoretical significance as well as of practical importance. The rise and fall of dependency with waves of depression and prosperity, with the annual change from winter to summer conditions, and as the aftermath of wars and famines are phenomena familiar to all history. And yet the possibility of accurate quantitative description of these phenomena has seldom been seriously considered.

The present paper is a preliminary report of an effort to describe changes in the amount of dependency over a period of nine years and nine months beginning January, 1915, for the city of Minneapolis. If we are successful in accurate quantitative description of the past and present of the phenomenon, we have taken the first step toward scientific prediction of its future course, wherein lies the practical significance of our study.

PREPARATION OF THE DATA

This study was begun by securing the figures for total case load from the Family Welfare Association, the Public Poor Relief Department, the University Free Dispensary, and the total admissions to the Municipal Free Lodging House of Minneapolis, for the period from January, 1915, to September, 1924, inclusive by months. These gross totals were then in each case converted into a series of relative index numbers with the average monthly total of the year 1919 as a base.¹ The series fall into two different types: one which fluctuates violently from high peaks to low troughs (Family Welfare, Poor Relief, and Municipal); and one which shows but minor variations from month to month or year to year.

ANALYSIS OF THE DATA

These four series of index numbers exhibit four different kinds of change which are particularly evident in the relief series: (1) A long-term upward or downward tendency, technically known as the secular trend; (2) a wavelike movement of two or more years, known as a cycle; (3) an annual change from winter to summer, known as seasonal variation; (4) certain irregular fluctuations. Since these four kinds of change are all superimposed upon one another,

¹ This study was conducted under the direction of Dr. F. Stuart Chapin, chairman of the Department of Sociology, University of Minnesota, in a graduate seminar in Statistical Theory in Relation to Social Theory and Practice, and the statistical work was done by the following graduate students: Mr. John F. Markey, Mr. Henry C. Mohler, Mrs. Helen Kittridge, Miss Jessie Ravitch, and Miss Dorothy P. Gary.

The year 1919 was selected as the base year because in many respects it showed fewer irregular and violent fluctuations in relief, and because in this year the disturbing effects of the influenza epidemic of 1918 were absent, thus making the medical-relief series more normal.

it becomes necessary to separate from the total complex one factor at a time if we are to succeed in scientific analysis and description of our problem.

In attacking this problem we have utilized the technique of statistical-mathematical analysis developed and applied by students of the business cycle. In two of our series (Family Welfare Association and University Dispensary) we have assumed a straight-line trend. In two of our series (Public Poor Relief and Municipal Lodging) we were obliged to assume a parabolic movement.¹ Having measured the secular trend, it becomes necessary to eliminate it from the complex and to measure the cycle. But since the cyclical movement is further complicated by an overlay of seasonal variation and irregular fluctuations, we have measured these and eliminated them from the cycles.² We have now completed the preliminary quantitative description of our variables. It remains to consider the practical import of these findings. Since one test of science is its power to predict future events, we may ask whether we can forecast with any assurance the course of dependency in Minneapolis over the year beginning October, 1924. The degree with which we can satisfy this test is a measure of the immediate practical importance of our results.

PRACTICAL APPLICATIONS

Minute analysis of the cycles of the Family Welfare index³ shows that the average period from crest to crest is 10.2 months, and from trough to trough is 10.5 months, but this movement is further complicated by minor cycles in which the average period from crest to crest is 3.76 months, and

¹ The parabolic equations are as follows: Trend of Public Poor Relief series, Trend of Municipal Lodging House series, $y = 364.2 - 9.2x + .078x^2$.

² Persons link-relative method was not used in this study in the elimination of the seasonal factor and of irregular fluctuations, since a shorter and less cumbersome method, namely that of Falkner's ratio-to-ordinate method (*Journal American Statistical Association*, Vol. XIX, No. 146) was available, which seemed as effective as Persons method in the measurement of seasonal and irregular fluctuations. Specifically, the following methods were used for the series indicated (secular trend having been eliminated in the first place in those cases where Falkner's method was used):

Family Welfare series—secular trend linear—Davies' method of monthly means for measurement of seasonal (Davies, *Introd. Economic Statistics*, chap. v, pp. 100-130)

University Dispensary series—secular trend linear—Davies' method of monthly means

Public Poor Relief series—parabolic trend—Falkner's ratio-to-ordinate method for measurement of seasonal and irregular fluctuations

Municipal Lodging House series—parabolic trend, $y = 364.2 - 9.2x + .078x^2$ —Falkner's ratio-to-ordinate method

³ The Family Welfare series is the only one of our series which has been studied to date in connection with Snyder's index. Hence only the results of this comparison are here given. We are now studying every one of our five series (including a series based on figures from the Visiting Nurse Association of Minneapolis) in connection with Snyder's series as well as several local economic series.

from trough to trough, is 4 months. Clearly it is difficult to tell at the beginning of a movement whether it is going to be a four-month or a ten-month cycle.

If we could now discover some other series in which the cyclical movement preceded, but was associated with, our dependency cycle, we should then be in position to anticipate future movements with an exactitude that would depend on the regularity of the lag between the two series. After some experimentation we have found such a series in Carl Snyder's new *Clearings Index of Business*.¹ To forestall misunderstanding, it should be stated at this point that although we are interested in cause-and-effect relations, we make no assumptions or inferences in this respect regarding the problem under discussion, since this is a matter that lies beyond the scope of the data available to the present brief inquiry.

We find in brief: (1) That there is a correlation of $-.556$ between the Family Welfare series and Snyder's index for a six-month lag. Further analysis shows (2) that the average period between the trough of Snyder's series and the next crest of dependency, or between a crest of Snyder's index and the next trough of dependency, is 5.60 months for twenty-two different periods. (3) The correlation coefficient of these twenty-two selected high-low, or low-high points in association is $-.6894$. Finally, (4) study of periods of major rise and major decline in the two series shows that the Family Welfare Association index tends to rise or fall for a period longer by one or two months than the preceding fall or rise in Snyder's index.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

We may in conclusion venture to predict that (1) if the upward rise of Snyder's index since September, 1923, is part of an eight-month rise, then there should be an end of the present rise of the dependency index about December, 1924; (2) if the upward rise of Snyder's index since September, 1923, is part of a fourteen-month rise, then we may not expect a marked turn in the high tide of dependency till May or June, 1925. (3) The correlation coefficient for six-month lags suggest an earlier fall in the dependency index than either of the two preceding forecasts. These predictions are not certainties; they are rather probabilities. Further analysis of the data will, we fully believe, lead to the discovery of more exact and reliable methods of prediction.

¹ See *Journal Amer. Statistical Assoc.*, Vol. XIX, No. 147, pp. 329 ff.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON SOCIAL RESEARCH, OF THE AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY, 1924

The work of the Committee consisted mainly of a survey to determine the nature and extent of research being done by the members of the Society. Letters were sent out to all members asking them to send to the Committee a brief statement regarding any research upon which they were engaged. Replies to these letters revealed 204 different reaserch projects being conducted by

TYPES OF SOCIAL RESEARCH

| | |
|--|----|
| Rural sociology | 33 |
| Social psychology | 18 |
| Standard of living | 16 |
| Community life | 16 |
| Dependency | 11 |
| Educational sociology | 10 |
| Race | 9 |
| Miscellaneous and studies of social work | 9 |
| Population and migration | 9 |
| Marriage and the family | 7 |
| Social medical | 7 |
| Social change | 6 |
| Religion | 6 |
| Juvenile delinquency | 6 |
| Penology | 6 |
| Labor and industry | 6 |
| Social economics | 5 |
| Social politics | 4 |
| Mental hygiene | 4 |
| Law and sociology | 3 |
| Social control | 3 |
| Personality studies | 3 |
| Sociological theories | 3 |
| Heredity | 3 |
| Methods | 1 |
| Ethics | 1 |
| Social origins | 1 |

members of the society; some members being engaged, of course, upon more than one piece of research.

From the account of these researches certain classifications were made. About one-third (35 per cent) of these reports were on local studies, dealing distinctly with a definite and limited area. Thirty-five per cent also were of the survey type; that is, they were investigations or surveys of a locality or of a

community situation. In 36 per cent of these reports a definite statistical methodology was used, sufficient to warrant calling them statistical studies. There were a number of these researches which were not described fully enough to make it possible to say definitely whether they were local studies, of the survey type, or statistical in character. Between 30 and 40 per cent were thus incompletely described.

We have further attempted to indicate the nature of these pieces of research by the assortment shown on page 203.

The basis of this assortment is what appeared to the Committee to be the major idea of the work. A number of the pieces of research might have been allotted to more than one of the categories; for instance, a particular report might have allocated either to the category "Social Psychology" or to the category of "Mental Hygiene." The purpose of the foregoing list is simply one of abbreviation, rather than a strictly accurate classification.

We have thought that the readers of the *Proceedings* would be interested in seeing a list of 200 pieces of research upon which the members of the Society are engaged. We have prepared such a list and it is submitted at the close of this report. In regard to this list, it should be noted that in many cases the titles were not provided by the authors but have been abstracted from descriptive paragraphs. They will probably not in all cases be absolutely accurate, nor perhaps those which their authors would consider most appropriate.

From this list of 200, the Committee selected eleven pieces of research for the section program. This selection was necessarily of a somewhat arbitrary character, the Committee being governed by considerations of variety and interest as well as those of quality of the work.

Respectfully submitted,

WILLIAM F. OGBURN, *Chairman*
J. L. GILLIN
W. S. THOMPSON

SOCIAL RESEARCH IN PROGRESS, 1924

Rural Sociology

Adaptation of farm families to typical regions—Coon, B. F.

Advantages of farm life—Sawtele, E. H.

American agricultural life—Institute of Social and Religious Research.

Country life in Germany, Denmark, and France—Branson, E. C.

Country town, social and economic relations of, in Ohio—North, C. C.

Country town, social and economic relations of, in Minnesota—Hoffer, C. R.

Country town, social and economic relations of, in New York—Melvin, B. L.

Country town, social and economic relations of, in Wisconsin—Kolb, J. H.

Farm housing and farm home conditions in Texas—Garnett, W. E.

Farm housing and farm home conditions in Virginia—Daggett, A. B., and Pierce, J. B.

Farm indebtedness—Gillette, J. M.

Farm population of eight selected counties—Galpin, C. J., and Larson, V. B.

Farmers' co-operative marketing, social aspects of—Landis, B.

Farmers' co-operatives, psychological and social aspects of—Zimmerman, C. C.

General hospitals for farm communities, the social aspects of—Nason, W. C.

Kinsman tenant—Rankin, J. O.

Part ownership, some social effects of—Rankin, J. O.

Population movements to and from the farm in Missouri—Morgan, E. L.

Population movements to and from the farm in Kansas—Burr, Walter.

Population movements to and from the farm—Larson, V. B.

Radio on Nebraska farms—Rankin, J. O.

Recreation survey of two rural Ohio counties—Lively, C. E.

Relation of rural community organization to type of agriculture—Lively, C. E.

Rural school efficiency in Kalamazoo County—Burnham, E. W.

Rural migration and other sources of urban increase, 1910-20—Gillette, J. M.

Sickness and death on the life of the farm family, social and economic effect of—Sanderson, D. L.

Study of the best rural institutions in New Jersey—Keller, H.

Study of the best rural institutions in Illinois—Whittaker, M. L.

Study of the best rural institutions in Texas—Garnett, W. E.

Study of the best rural institutions in Virginia—Gee, W.

Study of the best rural institutions in Washington—Yoder, F. R.

Taxation and rural human welfare—Rankin, J. O.

Village and town planning—Mason, W. C.

Social Psychology

Attitudes of farmers toward co-operative marketing—Taylor, C. C.

Creation of morals in groups—Zeleney, L. D.

Differential reactions of unions to social and economic pressure, Rhode Island and Nebraska—Phelps, H. A.

Dynamic aspects of social psychology—French, A. N.

Hotel life and human nature—Hayner, N. S.

Investigation of the experimental modification of attitudes—Sturges, H. A.

K.K.K. in different states—Stewart, M. E.

Literature as a means of stimulating interest on the part of the public—Townsend, M.

Maladjusted college student, the—Harper, E. B.

Order of birth and personalities—Ogburn, W. F.

Psychoanalysis of the Lutheran church—Snyder, H. M.

- Psychological causes of historical reform movements—Davis, J.
 Social possibilities of mental measurements—Barry, A. G.
 Statistical study of secondary contacts—radio, newspaper, etc., in 1,000 homes in Michigan—Carr, L. J.
 Verbal stimuli, differential reactions to—Hart, H.
 Verbal stimuli, reaction to, and success in college—Shuttleworth, F.
 What the patrons of the C.G.W.R.R. are thinking about—Hoverstad, T. A.
 What worries boys—Burger, W. H.
 Youth movement, the psychology of—Aubrey, E. E.

Standard of Living

- Cost-consumption units—Brooks, M.
 Cost of living in farm houses in several areas of Iowa—Atwater, H. W., and Kilpatrick.
 Cost of living in farmhouses in several areas of Kentucky, Tennessee, and Kansas—Atwater, H. W., and Kilpatrick.
 Cost of living in farmhouses in Mason County, Kentucky—Atwater, H. W., and Kilpatrick.
 Farmers' standard of living in Alabama—Brooks, M.
 Farmers' standard of living in Connecticut—Davis, I. G.
 Farmers' standard of living in Iowa—Von Turgeln, G.
 Farmers' standard of living in Kansas—Burr, W.
 Farmers' standard of living in Kentucky—Nicholls, W. D.
 Farmers' standard of living in Ohio—Melvin, B. L.
 Farmers' standard of living in Missouri—Morgan, E. L.
 Farmers' standard of living in Nebraska—Rankin, J. O.
 Farmers' standard of living in New York—Sanderson, D.
 Rural standards of living—(Andrews, B. R.)¹
 Standard of living of families in dairy farms in a typical hill section of southern New York—Dickey, J. A.
 Standard of living and population pressure in China—Dittmer, C. G.

Community Life

- City of Tacoma, survey—Fyprig, C. W.
 County of Kansas surveyed in the interest of child welfare—Traut, G. W.
 Effect of community organizations in New York City—Bowman, E. L.
 Functioning of rural community halls in New York State—Felton, R. A.
 History of Death Valley—Coolidge, M. R.
 Individual ascendancy in rural environment—Lively, C. E.
 Isolated Mormon village—Nelson, L.
 Merchandising in rural communities—Hoffer, C. R.
 Progress of playground movement in Indiana since 1915—Newdon, V.

¹ Names in parentheses signify part authorship, usually as part of a survey made by some organization.

- Public school in the community recreation program of Pennsylvania, place of the—Bernard, M.
Rural recreation training schools—Felton, R. A.
Scoring of communities on the basis of the functioning of the social activities and organizations—Elmer, M. C.
Social study of a rural New England township—Hypes, J. L.
Study of recreational facilities—Community Council of St. Louis, Missouri.
Utah type of agricultural village—Nelson, L.
What are we doing to boys?—Burgess, W. H.

Dependency

- Adoption of children in Philadelphia County, Pennsylvania, Procedure of—Deardoff, N. R.
Care of the aged by Boston social agencies—Eaves, L.
Causal factors in dependency: study in partial correlation—Chapin, F. S.
Children left fatherless in Philadelphia: for a six-month period, study of—Deardoff, N. R.
Cost of public support and care of the paupers, defectives, and criminals in Wisconsin, 1922—Gillin, J. L.
County almshouses in Georgia, study of—Mathews, H. J.
Dependency index for Minneapolis—Chapin, F. S.
Family desertion in Dane County, Wisconsin, study of—Gillin, J. L.
Illegitimacy cases in Dane County Wisconsin, 1912-21, study of settlements in—Gillin, J. L.
Outdoor relief cases in Georgia counties—Mathews, J. H.
Wage-earning women, a legacy to—Eaves, L.

Education

- Adult education, investigation and experiment in—Kingsbury, S. B.
Consolidated school districts, social aspects of—Mumford, E.
Curricular research in colleges, lack of and need for—Eldridge, S.
Educational opportunity as affected by some land problems—Rankin, J. C.
Endowments and foundations—Clow, F. R.
Historical textbooks and international differences—Taft, D. R.
Negro education in the United States, the evolution of—Johnson, C. D.
School children, how they spend time out of school—Clow, F. R.
Teaching citizenship in the schools of the United States.—Bowden, A. O.
Tenancy and education, relationship of—Rankin, J. O.

Race

- Changes in population and farm tenure in counties of the south by color—Work, M. N.
Community of Indian-negro-white crossed in Virginia—MacDougle, I.
Genius by nationality groups in Who's Who—Miller, A. L.
Lynching and the race problem, 1882-1924—Work, M. N.
Negro, the—Dowd, J.

Race relations survey—Park, R. E.

Racial forces in community life—Wessel, B. B.

Second-generation Orientals in America—Smith, W. C.

What can the schools do in assisting the efficiency of the Negro?—Work, M. N.

Population and Migration

Americanization of the Finns—Wargelin, J.

City drift and its social consequences—Miller, A. L.

Demography of Champaign-Urbana—Sutherland, E. H.

Ethnic factors in the population of New London, Connecticut—Wessel, B. B.

Immigrants and their children—Carpenter, N.

Mexican population in a typical mid-western small city—Burr, W.

Residential mobility—Sutherland, E. H.

Role of the village in New York State—Melvin, B. L.

Statistical aspect of immigration and population problems—Carpenter, N.

Miscellaneous and Studies of Social Work

Agencies for disabled ex-service men, work done by—Community Council of St. Louis.

Contributions of Dane County income taxpayers to charity, religion, etc., 1922—Gillin, J. L.

Hospital beds, a study of—Community Council of St. Louis.

Nurse in industry, the functions of the—Moore, Mrs. S. P.

Negro housing in Dallas—Scott, E.

Practical service ratios of urban social agencies—Elliot, Mabel

Recreation to character building, relation of—(Grady, J.)

Unit of comparison in intensive studies—Sheffield, A. E.

Wealth of a county to the amount of welfare work, relation of the—Mathews, J. H.

Marriage and the Family

Case study of several hundred families as a social institution—(Grady, J.)

Family adjustments, problems of—Groves, E. R.

Family disorganization: an introduction to sociological analysis—Mowrer, E. R.

Family disruption, a study of—Holland, W. W.

Family research—(Holbrook, D. H.)

Home, social conditions of the—Groves, E. R.

Marriage licenses and residence—Sutherland, E. H.

Social Medicine

Adequacy of medical service—social and economic factors—Davis, M. M.

Cost of medical care, private and institutional, and its relation to budgets—Davis, M. M.

Crippled children in Chicago, a survey of—(Loomis, F. G.)

Hospitals and clinics with non-medical charities, relationships of—Davis, M. M.

Interrelation of medical and social factors in disease, looking toward a medical-social terminology—Davis, M. M.

Prevalence of disease, especially of the non-incapacitating types—Davis, M. M.

Socialization of medicine in the United States—Moore, H. H.

Social Change

Evolution of social classes—Eldridge, S.

Mechanism of revolution—Edwards, L. P.

Morality as a product of special evolution—Hayes, E. C.

Mutual aid in social progress—Miller, A. L.

Relative rate of change in custom and belief of modern Jews—Ravitch, J. S.

Synthetic study of social evolution based on objective evidences of change in social structure—Chapin, F. S.

Religion

Ethical value of belief in life after death among primitive people—Wallis, W. D.

Mormonism as a factor in the social, political, and educational life of North America—Dick, V.

Primitive religion—Holland, W. W.

Relation of the Christian religion to the economic problem—Carpenter, N.

Religious education as developed in colleges and universities—Boyer, E. S.

Sociological study of the history of religion—Aubrey, E. E.

Juvenile Delinquency

Juvenile court in Des Moines—De Graff, H. O.

Juvenile courts of North Carolina—Cowper, M. O.

Juvenile delinquency in Dane County, Wisconsin, 1918-21—Gillin, J. L.

Juvenile delinquency in Omaha—Sullinger, T. E.

"Normal" delinquent girls—Buchan, E.

Women going out of girls' reform schools, 1915-20—Kingsbury, S. B.

Penology

Attitude toward the whipping post in Delaware—Crooks, E. B.

Commercialized prostitution with relation to the municipal court, and medical measures in Cincinnati, 1920-24—Van Buskirk, E. F.

Honor system in "The Work House," Delaware—Crooks, E. B.

Ontario gaol theory illustrated by Kingston gaol practice—Fyprig, C. W.

Parole and probation of adult criminals in Wisconsin—Gillin, J. L.

Labor and Industry

Employee-representative movement—Metcalf, H. C.

I.W.W. in the United States—Howd, C. R.

Rural child labor in Texas—Garnett, W. E. (and others).

Woman without responsibility in industry—Kingsbury, S. B.

Women in industry in Dallas—Scott, E.

Young employed girl—Kingsbury, S. B.

Social Economics

Chain store—a study in the ecological organization of the modern city—Shideler, E. H.

Distribution of products and effect of advertising and selling—Lewis, E. St. E.

Fundamental factors in Euro-American and Roman imperialism—Spykman, V.

Relationship between a community and its chief industry, cotton—Cowper, M. O.

Women in industry in St. Paul—Elmer, M. C.

Social Politics

Five hundred and fifty measures on ballots analyzed—King, J.

Political measurements, their possibilities—Eldridge, S.

Progress in political movements in the northwest agricultural states—Dick, V.

Rural municipalities—Manny, T. B.

Mental Hygiene

Admission to mental hospitals—Jarrett, M. C.

Feeble-mindedness of a mid-western town of 3,500—Brooks, M. M.

Twenty-five first-year immigrant families—Jarrett, M. C.

State care of mental hygiene in Illinois—Burke, W. W.

Law and Sociology

Functional study of American law with particular reference to preventive justice—Pound, R.

Laws, state and federal, relating to opium—Chamberlain, J. P.

Noteworthy changes in statute law—Chamberlain, J. P.

Social Control

Causes and treatment of social radicalism—Reed, E. F.

Facts that have a bearing on the probable future of war—Hayes, E. C.

Intimate devices for social control—gossip, satire, etc.—Lumley, F. E.

Personality Studies

History of the women pioneers of the Pacific West—Coolidge, M. R.

Personality studies from life-history documents—Krueger, E. T.

Story of the rise of 100 best negro farmers—Caruthers, T.

Sociological Theory

Developments in German sociology—Mez, J.

Social process—Bookstaber, P. D.

Some social relations restated—Hayes, E. C.

Heredity

Familial differential fecundity—Hart, H.

Families of Baylor College graduates—Johnson, G. B.

Intelligence tests of different races in relation to the size of family—
Kirkpatrick, C. L.

Method

The map as a statistical device in sociological research—Mowrer, E.

Ethics

Statistical ethics—Brogan A. P.

Social Origins

The genesis of social institutions—Carpenter, N.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON SOCIAL ABSTRACTS

The Committee on Social Abstracts recommends: (1) that the Committee on Social Abstracts be made a standing committee of the American Sociological Society; (2) that the Committee consider the problem of classification of the literature of sociology which it is important to abstract; (3) that the Committee be empowered to co-operate with the Social Science Research Council in connection with its plans for a more adequate social science abstract service.

Respectfully submitted,

U. G. WEATHERLY

ROBERT E. PARK

F. STUART CHAPIN, *Chairman*

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON AN ENCYCLOPEDIA OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

Following the appointment of the committee of the Sociological Society, conferees were designated by the Economic, Statistical, Anthropological, and Political Science associations. Later individual representatives from the social workers and the Historical Society were added.

At first an attempt was made to do business by letter. Several valuable responses with advice were received. Members of the American Sociological Society were also asked to respond to a questionnaire indicating their attitudes with regard to the proposed work. A summary of these responses indicates that 75 per cent of those replying believe that such publication is desirable. The responses show that a work dealing with the general principles of allied fields is desired. A majority express the wish that the book should be published in four or six compact volumes with a dictionary or encyclopedic arrangement of topics. Those who expressed an opinion upon the cost of publication considered that

both subscriptions and subsidies would be necessary to put forth the work. There was also general agreement that it should be published under the auspices of the various societies. It was further indicated that the editors would probably have to be paid a salary and the contributors remunerated at a piece rate.

In order to secure concurrent action upon these points a meeting of representatives in or near New York was held there on October 20, 1924. At this meeting it was voted to recommend a handbook not exceeding six volumes to include "non-alphabetically arranged topical articles grouped under logical headings." It was also recommended that an effort be made to inform the National Council of Social Research of the plans and endeavor to secure their co-operation and financial backing.

On December 22, 1924, the New York group again met and appointed a subcommittee consisting of E. F. Gay, A. Goldenweiser, and Mary Van Kleeck to make recommendations of the Joint Committee for an executive committee of seven composed of one member from each of the seven associations whose co-operation is expected. The Joint Committee made the following recommendations to each of the co-operating associations and requested action at the Christmas sessions:

1. That each association vote to continue its co-operation either by continuing the present committee or by appointing successors.

2. If in the next few months the Joint Committee, through its executive committee, reaches an agreement as to plan for co-operation, it is desirable that the governing body of each co-operating association should be empowered to ratify the plan, and action giving them such power is hereby requested.

3. In working out preliminary details modest expenditures are necessary, and to cover them each society is asked to appropriate the sum of one hundred dollars.

After discussing these recommendations, the Sociological Society, at its morning session in Chicago, December 30, 1924, voted to continue the present committee and also to empower the Executive Committee of the Society to act upon the other two recommendations.

We have been informed that favorable action upon these points was taken by the American Statistical Association at the same time.

Respectfully submitted,

H. B. WOOLSTON, *For the Sociological Committee*

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE TEACHING OF SOCIAL STUDIES IN THE SCHOOLS

Freedom in the Teaching of Social Science

The teacher of social problems is peculiarly near to the volcanoes of emotion which impede the erection of scientific beliefs. Religious, sexual, economic, racial, national, and political conflicts underlie almost all of the problems with which he is concerned. If he is to fulfil his function as a pioneer of scientific

method in the study of human relations he will have to use the utmost of tolerance and skill in dealing with the questions peculiar to his special field.

Recent years have intensified the difficulty which confronts teachers of social studies in almost every line and in almost every school. Specific instances of exclusion of textbooks, of dismissal of teachers because of their beliefs, and of legislative and administrative prohibition of the teaching or discussion of certain topics have come to the attention of this committee from Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Oklahoma, Texas, Kansas, Missouri, and Minnesota. These are, of course, by no means the only states where such intolerance has been in evidence. Most of the cases noted have had to do with evolution and with the negro problem, but the issue is far broader than these two topics.

Antagonism to the teaching of evolution is not an isolated phenomenon, but is allied to the general tendency toward intensely emotional attitudes toward religious, patriotic, racial, and industrial problems as exemplified in the Fundamentalist movement, in certain activities of the American Legion, in the Ku Klux Klan, in the Herrin massacre, and in kindred phenomena. The solution demanded must be adequate not only to the issue of evolution but to cope also with emotional prejudices involved in the discussion of the other burning issues of our civilization.

The problem of freedom of thought and freedom of teaching is not an ephemeral one, nor one to be ignored. Certainly the history of science gives no ground for the belief that the conflict between emotional prejudice and dispassionate research is a trivial or negligible element in human progress and retrogression. Teachers of social studies (who in our day must bear the brunt of this conflict) may well endeavor to formulate and to apply sociological principles related to the attitudes which they should take on emotionally prejudiced topics. The presentation of even a crude statement of ideals may help to clarify the issue and to lead many of us who are teachers of sociology to a nearer approach toward that combination of courage, tact, and pedagogical skill which seems essential in the struggle for truth.

The true teacher must be faithful to the scientific spirit, no matter what the cost. That spirit is the open-minded love of truth; it is intellectual honesty, stripped of all preconceived prejudices; it is an eager, unflinching, unflagging quest which follows wherever truth may lead. It abhors that venal opportunism which acquiesces with popular views irrespective of one's personal conceptions of truth and of scientific progress, so as to produce the best-selling textbooks and so as to procure maximum personal advancement.

Yet sociologists must recognize that direct conflict is not always the best method to achieve their end. The data of social psychology are replete with evidence as to the dangers involved in antagonism as a means of social control. Open conflict too often reinforces the very emotional attitudes which are being opposed. Coercion has been notoriously unsuccessful as a method of assimilating racial and religious groups. The sociologist may well query whether his own science justifies the attempt to conquer intolerant groups by aggressive attack.

As scientists we must adopt the objective pragmatic attitude; we must seek the answer to this question: By what type of policy can the sociologist best promote in the rising generation the love of truth and the fearless and dispassionate search for it? The problem becomes not an emotional but an intellectual issue. The seeker may arrive at some such policy as the following set of principles implies:

1. As far as is consistent with his function as a guide in the search for truth, the teacher of sociology should adopt, in presenting the facts essential to his subject, those methods which arouse the least emotional antagonism: (a) He should refrain from denouncing specifically the treasured verbal formulas in which the individuals whom he desires to influence have been accustomed to embody their beliefs, their hopes, and their loyalties. (b) In discussing controversial subjects, he should avoid making sweeping generalizations in which occur words which have become symbols for emotional conflict, such as "evolution," "God," "miracles," "socialism," "capitalistic," "Jew," "negro," "America," sex terms and the like. (c) The teacher of sociology should avoid implying that persons who disagree with him are insincere, dishonest, stupid, or inferior. (d) In the preparation of textbooks and in the presentation of courses, the sociologist should avoid conflict on trivial and non-essential matters and on subjects remote from the immediate problems to be dealt with.

2. In attempting to modify unscientific attitudes, the teacher should bring to the attention of the student the facts which are inconsistent with his false position and urge him himself without bias to account for these facts. He should do his utmost to persuade the student to discover the truth for himself rather than to convey to the student the teacher's conclusions.

3. The sociologist should use his whole influence in favor of impartial discussion and freedom of speech, especially insisting upon a fair hearing for his opponents. The teacher should present fully the facts which are favorable to the side in which he does not believe, as well as those favorable to his own position, and point out their possible interpretations.

4. If the sociologist finds that his subject cannot adequately be presented without arousing emotional antagonism he should nevertheless go forward fearlessly and take the consequences. As a teacher he should endeavor conscientiously, courageously, and ardently to encourage in his students and his readers the eager and impartial search for truth. No consideration for his own safety, advancement, or financial advantage should deter him from this purpose.

In the long run, who need fear for the outcome as between science and superstition? As dedicated servants of an invincible cause, let us never allow our selfish interests to dilute our loyalty to truth, nor our enthusiastic impatience to interfere with the independence of thought and the gradual wholesome growth of the minds intrusted to our guidance.

The discussion of the foregoing memorandum at the luncheon at which it was presented brought out some points which should be noted here. Certain speakers felt that a direct challenge to the emotional prejudices of the students

had a valuable stimulating effect. An instance was cited in which a teacher who, it was stated, had been attacked and left for dead by the Ku Klux Klan, had, thereupon, a tremendous and permanent increase in the enrolment of his classes. In connection with giving a fair hearing to the opposition some of those present at the luncheon felt that this was likely to result in having the time of the class wasted by verbose faddists; it was suggested that the teacher necessarily must exercise a selective function. Still another speaker doubted whether it was advisable to attempt to recommend any one method of teaching.

Can we Measure Results in Teaching Social Science?

Before scientific conclusions can be reached as to the relative merits of various methods of teaching social science some method must be devised for measuring the attitudes which such teaching seeks to produce.

Experiments with a test called the "personnel assayer," as administered to 525 representative fifteen-year-old school children and to delinquents in certain institutions have yielded results looking toward the measurement of delinquency and of socialization.

The typical school child, according to this investigation, is intolerant, but not to the extent of approving mob violence. For example, of the 525 public-school children tested, 71 per cent agreed that "it is wicked to teach that there are things in the Bible that are not true"; on the other hand, 83 per cent indorsed the statement that "it is a very dangerous and evil practice for mobs to take it on themselves to enforce the law."

Culture conceit and ethnic egotism characterize this sample of American youth. That "most jews try to get the best of a bargain even if they have to cheat to do it" was the opinion of 70 per cent, and 80 per cent felt that the lives of the best Chinese are worth no more to the world than the lives of average American laborers. That "no country ever had as good laws or as good a government, or a culture as good in any way as we people of the United States have" was asserted by 80 per cent of the children. National isolation was the favored policy. Dislike for war was expressed by 90 per cent, but the majority thought that war would continue indefinitely to be as common as in the past few centuries.

The quality of the patriotism taught these children is suggested by the fact that the sentence "Good patriots are always loyal to their political party" was indorsed by 75 per cent. A strong interest in "reverence for Old Glory" was shown by 60 per cent of the children, but only 19 per cent showed a correspondingly strong interest in "work for social justice."

Majorities believed that "crime can best be reduced by punishing every criminal severely," and that "all strikes should be prohibited"; 43 per cent favored prohibiting smoking tobacco. In the eyes of these youngsters smoking by women and the falseness of a friend were about equally reprehensible.

Reactions of girls indicated more sensitiveness, more interest in religion, and less interest in economic and social questions than the boys showed. Delin-

quent boys rated by their teachers as brutal or unkind reacted to the test in ways which indicated defiance of conventions and lack of sympathy and idealism. Particularly striking was their antagonism toward religious stimuli. On the other hand, delinquents without marked brutal tendencies were likely to pretend to be very intellectual, very sympathetic, and especially very religious. The "pretender" group is apparently much more numerous among delinquents than are the "defiers."

Using these reactions as a basis, a tentative scoring method has been devised which is highly reliable for identifying the pretender type of delinquent. This method is quite complex, however, and will not be put into circulation until further experiments have been carried out.

HORNELL HART, *Chairman*

ROSS L. FINNEY

H. A. MOORE

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

At the meeting two years ago a committee on international relations was appointed with the definite commission to investigate the relation of news to international public opinion and to undertake such further tasks as it saw fit. As I reported last year, it seemed wise, for the purpose of carrying more weight and perhaps more easily to secure financial support, that the news-investigation project be submitted to the Social Science Research Council with the request that it assume the responsibility. This was done last February and the Council agreed to undertake the investigation through a specially appointed committee. The project as defined and accepted by the Council is as follows: "A thorough scientific and objective investigation of the instrumentalities involved in the world-wide collection and dissemination of current news and opinion of international concern, and of the underlying and related problems of the formation and expression and significance of attitudes on international affairs."

Money was secured for a preliminary conference for the careful planning of the undertaking. At the first meeting of the committee, it was assumed that the committee itself should create an organization for carrying out the work, probably assigning certain portions to various institutions.

At a recent meeting of the committee it was decided that it would be more valuable if, before such an organization were formed, the widest possible advice and co-operation should be secured. The farther we proceed the more clear it becomes that the ramifications of this undertaking are very extensive, and that there are many factors which affect public opinion which need to be understood before it will be possible to analyze the influence of news; and it may be found that considerable work has been done on parts of this, and that there may be special fields which individuals or institutions might be glad to undertake, and

still other special aspects which individuals would be glad to finance who would not be willing to put a very large sum into a general investigation.

At the present time a preliminary outline of the project as it is now seen is being prepared. This will very shortly be sent out widely for criticism and suggestions. After these have been received, further advice will be sought from various foreign countries. Many of you will be asked to help with the criticism and suggestions in the near future. It is quite obvious that this work will cover several years, and there seems to be no difference of opinion as to its very fundamental and important character.

The only other activity of the committee has been to make some overtures in the direction of international co-operation with social scientists, but since the field of sociology is not sharply defined abroad, it seems wise to the chairman of this committee that the political scientists and economists should join with the sociologists for this purpose. The matter has been presented to both associations, and something of this sort may be done at their current meetings.

Committee on International Relations,

H. A. MILLER, *Chairman*

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON PERSONNEL CLASSIFICATION IN THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

The American Statistical Association, the American Economic Association, the American Sociological Society, and the American Association for Labor Legislation at their annual meetings in December, 1923, appointed committees to present to the President of the United States, to the Civil Service Committees of the two Houses of Congress and to the Federal Personnel Classification Board briefs regarding the proper classification of scientific positions in economics, sociology, and statistics and to take such other action as might prove desirable to bring about the proper classification of such positions.

The Budget for the fiscal year 1925 had revealed the fact that the Personnel Classification Board had generally classified scientific government positions in the fields of economics, sociology, and statistics as being in the "Clerical Administrative and Fiscal Service" as defined in the Classification Act of 1923, and not in the "Professional and Scientific Service" as defined in that Act.

The Associations are directly interested in this action of the Personnel Classification Board, because persons working in the social sciences are largely dependent on government sources for the data used in arriving at decisions on economic and social matters and because the quality of the government's work in these fields is determined principally by the qualifications of the persons doing the government work.

The Classification Act of 1923 recognized the necessity for paying larger salaries for professional and scientific positions in the government service in order

to attract and retain properly qualified workers. Had the scientific positions in economics, sociology, and statistics been allocated to the Professional and Scientific Service they would have been assigned to salary grades on the basis of the definitions prescribed by Congress to apply to professional and scientific positions. These definitions are entirely different from the definitions for the clerical, administrative, and fiscal services. The use of the professional and scientific grade definitions would have resulted in offering for economists, sociologists, and statisticians compensation more nearly comparable to that offered by private enterprise. At the same time standards for entrance into these positions would have been established on the basis of professional and scientific qualifications so that the government would have derived the benefits sought by Congress in increasing the rates of compensation for professional and scientific workers.

Formal protest against the action of the Personnel Board is made both on the ground that it is contrary to the letter and the spirit of the Classification Act and that it is against the interests of the country which require more complete and intelligent application of the social sciences.

The Classification Act of 1923 appeared to be a step forward for two reasons: it provided a much needed adjustment of salaries for government employees, more particularly for the professional, scientific, and technical employees; and having provided more adequate salaries, it permitted improving the system for securing properly qualified employees. It was to be the instrument for giving full effect to the sound fundamental principles of the merit system. Recognition of the scientific, technical nature of large numbers of governmental positions and the establishment of proper entrance requirements for them were primary steps in improving the service. In no fields were they more important than in economics, sociology, and statistics. The Classification Act was to have been a means of giving to the people a higher degree of efficiency and usefulness in the application of the social sciences in the solution of public problems. The action of the Personnel Classification Board to a large extent negatives the Act.

On behalf of the associations which we represent we therefore urge that the scientific character of the work in the fields of economics, sociology, and statistics be recognized, that positions in these fields requiring technical or scientific training equivalent to graduation from a college or university of recognized standing be allocated to the Professional and Scientific Service, and that the salaries of positions so allocated be fixed in accord with the definitions of the several salary grades established by the Act for that service.

CARL KELSEY

University of Pennsylvania

ROBERT R. KERN

George Washington University

MOLLIE R. CARROLL

Goucher College

REPORTS OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE SOCIETY TO THE SOCIAL-SCIENCE RESEARCH COUNCIL

The Social-Science Research Council now consists of three representatives, each from the American Political Science Association, the American Sociological Society, the American Economic Association, and the American Statistical Association, appointed for terms of three years.

The Social-Science Research Council was organized in 1923, in accordance with a concurrent resolution setting up as the purpose of the organization that of "promoting and co-ordinating research, and furthering the development of research methods in the social studies." During the year 1924 four sessions have been held, February 16, May 17, November 29, and December 31, and substantial progress has been made in various directions.

1. *Research Fellowships*

A plan for research fellowships has been worked out by a committee of the Council of which Professor A. B. Hall was chairman, and adopted by the Council. This plan provides for granting opportunities for study of social problems analogous to those now given to students of natural science, and it is believed will greatly stimulate research and make possible significant advances. A copy of the plan is attached hereto. The Fellowship Committee of three elected by the Council consists of Professor Wesley C. Mitchell of Columbia University, chairman, Professor F. S. Chapin of the University of Minnesota, secretary, and Professor Charles E. Merriam of the University of Chicago. It is hoped that substantial support of the work of this committee will be available for the year 1925-26.

2. *Committee on Scientific Aspects of Human Migration*

Early in 1924 the National Research Council's Committee on Scientific Aspects of Human Migration requested the Social Science Research Council to appoint a similar committee on the social aspects of the problem. It was the intention that these two committees, while independent financially and technically, should co-operate as closely as possible in preparing a program for the study of migration, and in the scientific study of the projects outlined.

The principal project undertaken by our committee during this year has been the study of the mechanization of industry in relation to migration (in the United States). This was in charge of Professor W. C. Mitchell of Columbia and Professor Harry Jerome of the University of Wisconsin. A gift of \$15,500 was made for this purpose, and the inquiry is now well under way. The Committee has worked on a series of plans for the study of migration during the year and has made progress in the development of a significant program. Among the

more important of the features of the program as thus far discussed are a statistical survey of world migrations, an inquiry into Canadian immigration laws, a study of the immigration problem in Argentina, a study of personality and race differences. The members of this Committee are Edith Abbot, chairman, Professor Ogburn, Professor Ogg, Professor John R. Commons, Professor Wesley C. Mitchell, Professor John A. Fairlie, Professor H. A. Miller, Professor Wittke, Professor R. M. Yerkes, Professor Wissler, Mary Van Kleeck.

3. *International News and Communication*

During the year a project for a study of international news and communication was referred to the Committee, and after consideration the Council approved of a "thoroughly scientific and objective investigation of the instrumentalities involved in the world-wide gathering and dissemination of current news and opinion of international concern, and of the underlying related problems of the formation, expression, and significance of attitudes on international affairs."

The Committee consists of Walter S. Rogers, chairman, Mr. Franklin Adams, Pan-American Union, Professor Willard G. Bleyer, School of Journalism, University of Wisconsin, Dean Walter Williams, School of Journalism, University of Missouri, Dr. Edwin W. Slosson, National Research Council Science Service, Professor Harold G. Moulton, director, Institute of Economics, Professor Jerome Davis, Yale University, Professor R. E. Park, University of Chicago, Mr. Bruce Bliven, New York, Professor George G. Wilson, Harvard University, Professor R. M. Yerkes, Yale University, Professor W. F. Ogburn, Columbia University, H. A. Miller, Ohio State University. The Committee has held several sessions and is preparing a careful project for the study of the problem as stated by the Council. The sum of \$2,500 has been contributed for the purpose of forming this plan.

4. *Publication of Index and Digest of State Legislation*

This Committee, of which Professor J. P. Chamberlin of Columbia is chairman, has continued the effort of the previous year to obtain support for the annual preparation and publication of an index and digest of all state legislation by the United States government through a congressional appropriation. In addition to the indorsement of the plan given by the constituent members of the Council, many other indorsements have been obtained and substantial progress has been made toward the end in view. The undoubtedly large usefulness of such a publication to all those interested in any form of social research makes the advance of the Committee's work of great significance to the Council and to all the members of the constituent societies as well as to large numbers of other persons and organizations.

5. *Committee on Social-Science Abstracts*

This Committee, of which Professor F. S. Chapin is chairman, reported the publication of short notes on three alternative plans for abstracting social-

science periodical literature which appeared during the summer in the journals of the societies of the constituent members of the Council. The recommendation of the Committee is attached hereto.

6. *Committee on Survey of Social-Science Agencies in the United States (Professor Secrist, Chairman)*

This Committee plans a survey of the most significant social-science agencies in the United States with a view of ascertaining types of available material for social research, and also for the purpose of scrutinizing and comparing the various types of method employed by these agencies. Such an inquiry would provide basic data of the most important nature and would lead to an intensive scrutiny of the problems of method in the field of social research. The Committee has formulated a plan of inquiry, but thus far has not been able to obtain funds for the prosecution of the undertaking.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON SOCIAL-SCIENCE ABSTRACTS
TO THE SOCIAL-SCIENCE RESEARCH COUNCIL,
NOVEMBER 29, 1924

1. We recommend the reestablishment of some plan of central editorial supervision (co-operative) for social-science abstracts such as outlined in the recent statement published in the social-science journals. Plan I is recommended as desirable, but if funds cannot be obtained, Plan II is recommended as an alternative.

Plan I.—Publication of social-science abstracts for economics, political science, sociology, and statistics, as a separate monthly or quarterly bulletin.

a) Expense to be met by subsidy from some national foundation, or by joint-membership dues of the societies, or by contribution from the constituent societies, (estimated cost, \$14,600, at added expense per member of \$2.18 to \$2.44 yearly).

b) Acceptance of guidance over abstracting by a central editorial body representative of the whole field, with (1) common methodology of abstracting, (2) conformance to some objective system of classification of subjects, (3) cross-referencing, (4) editing and abstracting paid.

Plan II.—Publication of social science abstracts in separate journals as at present with enlargement of these services to cover the field more adequately, (a) expense to be met by dues increased by \$2.08 yearly, (b) central editorial organization as described under (b) of Plan I.

Plan III.—Publication of social-science abstracts in separate journals as at present with enlargement of these services to cover the field more adequately; (a) expense to be met by dues increased by \$1.50 yearly; (b) no central editorial supervision, but (1) agreement on common basis of classification of abstracts, each journal to publish in full its own abstracts, and printing merely the scheme of classification of each other journal; (2) abstracts to be paid for by the page.

2. We recommend the appointment of a standing committee on abstracts

of periodical literature by each constituent society, (a) to co-operate in furthering the plan of joint abstracting; (b) to classify the subject-matter of the special field of knowledge of the particular science concerned.

F. STUART CHAPIN (Sociology), *Chairman*
DAVIS R. DEWEY (Economics)
A. C. HANFORD (Political Science)
WALTER F. WILLCOX (Statistics)

Other significant actions of the Council are the vote bringing to the attention of the Association of American Universities the desirability of the general adoption, by universities granting the degree of Doctor of Philosophy with social sciences, of two measures calculated to render more easily available research work done in fulfilment of requirements for the doctorate, namely, (1) the maintenance, under suitable restrictions, of an interlibrary loan file of doctoral dissertations in the social sciences; (2) the annual publication of abstracts of doctoral dissertations accepted by the university during each academic year, each candidate to be required to submit with his dissertation an acceptable abstract of it.

With respect to the following action of the executive council of the American Economic Association, "To refer to the Social Science Research Council the question of the advisability of the American Economic Association changing its status in A.A.A.S. from that of 'associated' members to that of 'affiliated' member, and to ask the Council to consider the effect that the entrance of the American Economic Association into the A.A.A.S. would have on the other constituent associations," it was voted as follows: "It is believed that the constituent associations should act only in concert in dealing with the A.A.A.S., and that the relation of the social sciences to the A.A.A.S. should be made the matter of further study by the Social Science Research Council and its constituent members."

The Council voted, November 29, to request the constituent members of the Council not to fix a time and place of meeting in 1925 without first consulting the other constituent members. This request was made in the hope that it might be possible at intervals, at any rate, to arrange for meetings of all the social sciences at the same time and place, and possibly for one or more joint sessions for consideration of common problems in the field of social research. It is strongly hoped by the Council that it may be possible to bring this about.

F. STUART CHAPIN
SHELBY M. HARRISON
WILLIAM F. OGBURN

REPORT OF THE DELEGATES OF THE AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY TO THE AMERICAN COUNCIL OF LEARNED SOCIETIES

The annual meeting of the American Council of Learned Societies was held in New York City on January 26, 1924. The chairman, Charles H. Haskins, reported a grant of \$6,000 from the Carnegie Corporation for a survey of learned societies. Reports of progress were made by the Committee on a Dictionary of American Biography and by the other committees of the Council. Edward C. Armstrong, Waldo G. Leland, and Paul Shorey were selected as delegates to the annual meeting of the Union Academique Internationale in Brussels, May 12-14. Waldo G. Leland was appointed director of the survey of learned societies and began active work on the survey July 1. The American Council of Learned Societies was incorporated in Washington October 28, and held an organization meeting on October 30. A revised form of the original constitution was submitted to the constituent organizations for ratification. At a special meeting of the Council, December 6, an announcement was made of the gift by the *New York Times* and its publisher, Mr. Adolph Ochs, of \$500,000, payable over a period of ten years, for the preparation and editing of the Dictionary of American Biography. The permanent office of the Council was established in Washington and Waldo G. Leland was appointed as executive secretary for the year 1925. A subvention of \$8,000 from the Carnegie Corporation for the work of the Council in 1925 was announced.

Respectfully submitted,

FRANKLIN H. GIDDINGS

WILLIAM F. OGBURN, *Delegates*

REPORT OF THE MEETING OF THE SECTION ON EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

The section on educational sociology held two meetings during the general session. The first was a general meeting held at 9:30 Tuesday morning. It was presided over by the chairman of the section, Dr. Walter R. Smith, of the University of Kansas, and had an attendance of something over forty. Carefully prepared papers were read by Dr. Franklin Bobbitt, of the University of Chicago, and Dr. Ira W. Howerth, of the State Teachers' College, Greeley, Colorado. These papers were followed by a general discussion led by Dr. F. Stuart Chapin, of the University of Minnesota, and Dr. David Snedden, of Columbia University, and participated in by a number of others.

Dr. Bobbitt has been a pioneer in the field of curriculum reconstruction and the scientific determination of educational objectives by a painstaking analysis of social activities. His paper dealt with the contributions educators have a right to expect sociologists to make in redirecting education into greater social usefulness. Dr. Howerth has written freely in both sociology and educa-

tion and his paper contained a critical summary of the sociological bases of a science of education. Each of these papers will shortly be available in printed form, that of Dr. Howerth appearing in an early issue of the *Journal of Social Forces*, making it unnecessary, as it would be unsafe, to attempt a summary from memory.

The second session was a luncheon conference of those interested in research in educational sociology. It took place at the City Club with an attendance of twenty-two, and was presided over by Dr. David Snedden. Numerous reports of research projects undertaken or supervised by those present were made. General discussions were centered upon methods of investigation, the sort of problems available for theses, and the need of a clearing-house through which researches may be assembled and made generally available. Plans were also discussed for the annual meeting of the national Society for the Study of Educational Sociology, which takes place at Cincinnati, February 25 and 26.

The section on educational sociology had its inception in a general program of the American Sociological Society at its meeting in 1922. An evening session was devoted to education, under the chairmanship of Dr. David Snedden. Such was the interest aroused that a meeting was held the following February at Cleveland during the sessions of the Department of Superintendence of the National Education Association. At this meeting the National Society for the Study of Educational Sociology was organized. Since then two meetings a year have been held, one in connection with the American Sociological Society, and the other during the sessions of the Department of Superintendence.

The value of two sessions per year is evident. Educational sociology is not only a sub-science of general sociology, but it is a basic science of education. Its appeal is to workers in each field, and its advancement must depend upon the co-operation of sociologists and educationists. These groups must somehow be made to understand each other, to realize that neither is in a position to patronize the other, and that any worth-while accomplishment in educational sociology will be mutually helpful to both. This mutuality is illustrated in the parallel field of educational psychology. Without doubt a large share of the progress in school work during the past half-century has been due to the searchlight thrown upon the learning process by psychologists. In return, teachers have flocked into psychology classrooms and students of education have made the most significant contributions to scientific psychological advance. In a similar way, the progress of education in the next half-century may be immensely furthered by throwing the searchlight of sociology upon the educative process, particularly with reference to socialization. In proportion as this is done our three-quarters of a million teachers will provide an enormous clientèle for sociology classrooms, and students of education may be expected to make some of the most noteworthy contributions to the advancement of general sociology. Thus educational sociologists need to affiliate themselves with both sociologists and educationists, learning from each, and hoping to contribute to each, in equal proportions.

WALTER R. SMITH, *Chairman*

PROGRAM OF THE NINETEENTH ANNUAL MEETING, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS, DECEMBER 29-31, 1924

MONDAY, DECEMBER 29

9:00 A.M. Registration.

10:00-12:00 A.M. Meetings of sections of the Society.

Section on Social Research. In charge of W. F. Ogburn, Columbia University. Ten-minute reports on research projects.

"The Contributions of the Income Taxpayers of Dane County, Wisconsin, to Charity, Religion, and Education." John L. Gillin, University of Wisconsin.

"Familial Differential Fecundity." Hornell Hart, Bryn Mawr College.

"Relative Rate of Change in Custom and Belief of Modern Jews." Jessie Ravitch, University of Minnesota.

"Personality Studies from Life History Documents." E. T. Krueger, Vanderbilt University.

"Historical Textbooks and International Differences." Donald R. Taft, Wells College.

"Some Researches in Rural Group Analysis." John H. Kolb, University of Wisconsin.

"Commodity Distribution in Rural Communities." C. R. Hoffer, University of Minnesota.

"A Measure of Rural Migration and Other Sources of Urban Increase." J. M. Gillette, University of North Dakota.

"Some Tendencies and Aspects of the Race Problem, 1912-24." Monroe N. Work, Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute.

"Standard of Living and Population Pressure in China." C. I. Dittmer, University of Wisconsin.

"A Dependency Index for Minneapolis." F. Stuart Chapin, University of Minnesota.

Section on Sociology of Religion. In charge of Herbert N. Shenton, Columbia University. Club Room, Mezzanine Floor.

The *raison d'être* of this meeting. Charles A. Ellwood, University of Missouri.

"Sociology of Religion." Herbert N. Shenton, Columbia University.

"Practical Application of Sociology to Current Religious Problems." Justin W. Nixon, Rochester, New York.

"Possibilities and Limitations of a Section on Religious Sociology." Warren H. Wilson, Department of Church and Country Life, Presbyterian Board of Home Missions.

Discussion. Leading to action determining the future of the section.

12:30 P.M. Luncheon Conferences:

Section on Rural Sociology and American Farm Economic Association.
South Room, Ninth Floor.

"Rural Income and Standard of Living." In charge of C. J. Galpin, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, Washington, D.C.

For the economists, M. L. Wilson, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, Washington, D.C. For the sociologists, Dwight Sanderson, Cornell University. Discussion, Hildegard Kneeland, Bureau of Home Economics, Washington, D.C.

Section on the Family. In charge of Mrs. William F. Dummer. Lincoln Room, City Club, 315 Plymouth Court.

"Modern Conditions Influencing the Family." Ernest R. Groves, Boston University

3:00-5:00 P.M. Division on Social Psychology. In charge of Ellsworth Faris, University of Chicago.

"Psychology and Culture." A. A. Goldenweiser, New School for Social Research.

Discussion. L. L. Bernard, University of Minnesota.

"Cultural Trends and Technique." Robert E. Park, University of Chicago.

Discussion. Emory S. Bogardus, University of Southern California.

"The Subjective Aspect of Culture." Ellsworth Faris.

Discussion. Floyd H. Allport, Syracuse University.

5:00 P.M. Meeting of the Executive Committee.

8:00 P.M. Joint Session with the American Economic Association and with the American Statistical Association. The Gold Room, the Congress Hotel. Presidents' addresses:

"Intolerance." Charles A. Ellwood, American Sociological Society.

"Quantitative Analysis in Economic Theory." Wesley C. Mitchell, American Economic Association.

"The Statistician and the Population Problem." Louis I. Dublin, American Statistical Association.

9:30 P.M. Smoker tendered by the business men of Chicago.

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 30

9:00 A.M. Business meeting for the reports of committees.

10:00-12:00 A.M. Division on Statistical Sociology. In charge of Walter F. Willcox, Cornell University.

"American and European Population Densities and the Immigration Policy of the United States." Niles Carpenter, University of Buffalo.

Discussion. Arthur J. Todd, Northwestern University.

"The Need for Improved Child Welfare Statistics." R. M. Woodbury, Institute of Economics, Washington, D.C.

Discussion. Grace Abbott, Federal Children's Bureau; George B. Mangold, St. Louis, Missouri.

"The Development of American Vital Statistics." Walter F. Willcox.

Discussion. G. R. Davies, University of North Dakota.

Section on Educational Sociology. In charge of W. R. Smith, University of Kansas. Club Room, Mezzanine Floor.

"The Contribution Sociology Should Be Expected to Make to Education, Science, and School Procedure." Ira Howerth, Colorado State College, and Franklin Bobbitt, University of Chicago. Discussion led by David Snedden, Columbia University and F. Stuart Chapin, University of Minnesota.

12:30 P.M. Luncheon Conferences:

Section on Rural Sociology. "Next Steps in Rural Social Research." South Room, Ninth Floor.

A. "Emphasis Regarding 'Knowing Your Own State' and 'Making a Special Contribution.'" *Statement:* J. H. Kolb, University of Wisconsin. *Outline:* S. H. Hobbs, Jr., University of North Carolina.

B. "Special Needs for a Social Psychological Emphasis." L. L. Bernard, University of Minnesota.

Discussion. Carl C. Taylor, North Carolina State College; C. E. Lively, Ohio State University.

Section on the Teaching of Social Sciences in the Public Schools. In charge of Hornell Hart, Bryn Mawr College. North Room, Ninth Floor.

"Freedom in the Teaching of Social Science."

"Can We Measure Results in Teaching Social Science?"

Discussion limited to five minutes for each speaker.

Section on Educational Sociology. City Club, 315 Plymouth Court.

Roundtable for Discussion of Research Projects.

3:00-5:00 P.M. Section on International Relations. In charge of Herbert A. Miller, Ohio State University.

Report of the Committee on International Relations and Co-operation. Herbert A. Miller, chairman.

"Surveying the Press." Walter Williams, University of Missouri.

"The Background of News." Robert E. Park, University of Chicago.

"The International Activities of the Soviet Government." Pitirim Sorokin, University of Minnesota.

Discussion. Jerome Davis, Yale University.

"The Sociological Factor in the Interpretation of International Relations with Specific Illustrations from Southeastern Europe and the Near East."

Earle E. Eubank, University of Cincinnati.

Discussion. Herbert A. Miller.

2:45-5:00 P.M. Section on Rural Sociology. In charge of John H. Kolb, University of Wisconsin. South Parlor, First Floor.

"Significant Factors in Rural Population Affecting Our Civilization."

"Farm Population." John M. Gillette, University of North Dakota.

"Village Population." C. Luther Fry, Institute of Social and Religious Research, New York City.

"Rural Demography." Warren S. Thompson, Scripps Foundation, Miami University.

Discussion. W. L. Bailey, Northwestern University.

6:30 P.M. Annual Dinner of the American Sociological Society. In honor of Albion W. Small and Franklin H. Giddings. Speakers: George E. Vincent and James P. Lichtenberger. South Room, Ninth Floor.

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 31

9:00 A.M. Annual Business Meeting of the American Sociological Society.

10:00-12:00 A.M. Division on Biological Factors. In charge of Frank H. Hankins, Smith College.

"Race Crossing in the Light of Modern Genetics." L. C. Dunn, Storrs Agricultural Experiment Station.

Discussion. Frank H. Hankins.

"The Hybrid as a Sociological Type." E. B. Reuter, University of Iowa.

"An Anthropological View of Race Mixture." Ralph Linton, Field Museum, Chicago.

Discussion. Kimball Young, University of Oregon.

"On a Method for the Study of the Phenomenon of Nationalism." Max S. Handman, University of Texas.

THE AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE SECRETARY FOR THE FISCAL YEAR DECEMBER 1, 1923, TO NOVEMBER 30, 1924

Membership Statement

Last year the total membership of the Society was 1,141; this year it numbers 1,193, a gain of 52 members.

| | |
|-----------------------------|-------|
| Membership in 1923..... | 1,141 |
| Members resigning..... | 63 |
| Members dropped..... | 190 |
| Members deceased..... | 3 |
| Total lost..... | 256 |
| Members renewing | |
| ex officio..... | 1 |
| exchange..... | 5 |
| paid..... | 879 |
| New members..... | 308 |
| Total members for 1924..... | 1,193 |

Life Members

The life members of the Society now include the following persons: Jerome Davis, Thomas D. Eliot, Earle E. Eubank, Ellsworth Faris, Mrs. Richard Ford, J. C. Harper, W. Clinton Heffner, Bertha A. Irving, Shiko Kusama, Samuel McC. Lindsay, Maud Loeber, Jane I. Newell, Jesus Rivero Quijano, Frederic Siedenburg, Teizo Toda, Arthur J. Todd, W. Russell Tylor, Christine Lofsted, T. C. Wang, L. D. Weyand, James O. Welchel, Frederic G. Young.

Recommendation for Membership

Among those sending in lists of applications or recommended persons are Floyd Allport, Alice Belcher, Caroline Bengston, F. W. Blackmar, Starr Cadwallader, Grace E. Chaffee, C. H. Cooley, E. H. Davis, E. E. Eubank, R. W. Frank, Henry S. French, Charles J. Galpin, John L. Gillin, E. R. Groves, June Purcell-Guild, Clara E. Howard, Susan M. Kingsbury, J. H. Kolb, D. C. Kulp II, F. E. Lumley, R. D. McKenzie, O. O. Norris, E. B. Reuter, H. N. Shenton, W. C. Smith, Ellwood Street, H. H. Strong, W. F. Willcox, H. B. Woolston.

Interest of Members in Divisions of the Society

In 1924 for the first time members were invited to indicate the divisions of the Society in which they were most interested. Of the 1,193 members of the Society less than one-half, or 513, made a grand total of 1,740 preferences. Over

one-half of this number expressed an interest in Social Psychology, the favorite division, while a little more than one-fifth evinced an interest in Statistical Sociology, which stood lowest in the selection. It would be hazardous to speculate concerning the effect upon this distribution if the remaining members, 680, had also taken part in this informal referendum:

| | |
|--|-------|
| Social psychology | 279 |
| Teaching social science in the schools | 249 |
| Social research | 230 |
| Sociology and social work | 230 |
| Community problems | 200 |
| Educational sociology | 159 |
| Rural sociology | 141 |
| Biological factors in social causation | 134 |
| Statistical sociology | 118 |
| Total preferences as stated | 1,740 |

Activities of the Society

The growth in the activities of the Society is shown by the fact that there were in 1924 representatives of our organization on five national bodies engaged in co-ordinating the work of social science associations or learned societies, and twelve standing and special committees of the Society. During the year the executive office sent out four communications from the President to the members of the Executive Committee and two communications to all the members of the Society, one from the President and the chairman of the Committee on Social Research, asking that research projects be submitted for consideration in the program to be devoted to research in progress, and the other from the chairman of the Committee on Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences asking for data of help in organizing a plan.

Respectfully submitted,

ERNEST W. BURGESS, *Secretary*

REPORT OF THE FINANCE COMMITTEE

Your committee has, with the assistance of a public accountant, examined the books of the American Sociological Society for the fiscal year ending November 30, 1924. The postings of the ledger have been checked and were found to be properly charged to the respective accounts. The balance in the bank as submitted by the depository agrees with the statement as to "Cash in the Bank on November 30, 1924." The bonds of the Northwestern Electric Company and of the St. Cloud Public Service Company were examined and found satisfactory. We submit for your consideration Balance Sheet (Schedule "A") and Statement of Cash Receipts and Disbursements (Schedule "B") prepared by the Secretary-Treasurer on the basis of the report by the public accountant which was examined and found to be correct.

SCHEDULE "A"

BALANCE SHEET AS OF NOVEMBER 30, 1924

| <i>Assets</i> | |
|---|-------------------|
| Cash in Bank | \$ 383.64 |
| Office furniture | \$118.65 |
| Less depreciation—up to and including 1924 | 56.15 |
| <i>Proceedings</i> , on hand, 1,352 volumes at \$0.50 | 676.00 |
| Investments: | |
| Northwestern Electric Co. 6 per cent Gold Bonds | 500.00 |
| St. Cloud Public Service Co. 6 per cent Gold Bonds | 675.38 |
| | <u>\$2,297.52</u> |
| <i>Liabilities</i> | |
| Surplus as of December 1, 1923 | \$2,481.34 |
| Additions: | |
| Increase in stock of <i>Proceedings</i> by 88 copies | \$ 44.00 |
| Deductions: | |
| Depreciation—Office Furniture | \$ 6.92 |
| Net Loss—Schedule "B" | <u>220.90</u> |
| Net deductions | 227.82 |
| | <u>183.82</u> |
| Total liabilities | <u>\$2,297.52</u> |

SCHEDULE "B"

STATEMENT OF CASH RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS FROM DECEMBER 1, 1923,
TO NOVEMBER 30, 1924

| <i>Cash Receipts</i> | |
|--|-------------------|
| Dues from members, 1924 | \$3,822.40 |
| Dues from members, 1925 | 144.00 |
| Dues from life members | 256.00 |
| | <u>\$4,222.40</u> |
| Exchange with remittances | 16.80 |
| Postage with remittances | 2.85 |
| Income from <i>Proceedings</i> | 326.49 |
| Interest on bonds | 72.00 |
| Interest on certificate of deposit | 26.24 |
| Receipts for abstract service | 91.00 |
| | <u>\$4,757.78</u> |
| Total receipts | \$4,757.78 |
| Plus credit from University of Chicago Press | 350.00 |
| | <u>\$5,107.78</u> |
| <i>Cash Disbursements</i> | |
| <i>Proceedings</i> , Volume XIX | \$1,444.00 |
| <i>American Journal of Sociology</i> | 2,408.66 |
| Clerical aid, salaries, etc. | 511.03 |
| Postage and express | 295.93 |
| Printing | 290.69 |
| Stationary | 147.90 |
| Secretary's expense at annual meeting | 106.43 |
| Exchange on remittances | 39.30 |
| Refund on memberships | 50.31 |
| Auditing | 10.00 |
| Insurance on <i>Proceedings</i> | 2.50 |
| Office and miscellaneous expenses | 21.93 |
| | <u>\$5,328.68</u> |
| Total disbursements | \$5,328.68 |
| Excess of disbursements over receipts | \$ 220.90 |

Summary

| | |
|---|------------|
| Balance in Bank, December 1, 1923 | \$ 604.54 |
| Total receipts for period ending November 30, 1924 | 4,757.78 |
| | <hr/> |
| Total disbursements for period ending November 30, 1924 | \$5,328.68 |
| Less credit from University of Chicago Press | 350.00 |
| | <hr/> |
| Balance in bank, November 30, 1924 | \$ 383.64 |

The Statement of Cash Receipts and Disbursements includes in its cash receipts "Dues from members, 1925" (\$144.00). If these receipts had not been included, the balance "Cash in bank, November 30, 1924" (\$383.64) would have been a balance of only \$239.64. This balance, however, would have become a deficit if there were deducted from it the cash receipts from life members (\$256.00), income from the abstract service (\$91.00), and the like figures from 1923 against which no expenditures have been charged (\$24.62), uninvested balance from life memberships, and \$22.00 (subscriptions for abstract service). The deficit thus determined, \$153.98, is, however, less than the deficit similarly computed for 1923 (\$342.08). The difference in these two figures (\$188.10) represents the second surplus in the accounts of the Society for seven years, and is largely to be attributed to the budget system which was introduced two years ago on the recommendation of the Finance Committee and to the effective work of the Editing Committee in bringing the cost of the *Proceedings* within the budget estimates.

The Committee submits herewith a comparative table of incomes and expenditures for the last seven years, 1918-24 inclusive, prepared by the Treasurer.

ANALYSIS OF ACTUAL INCOME AND EXPENDITURES 1917-1923

| Year | Receipts from Dues | Total Receipts | Expenditures | Deficit | Cash Balance |
|------------|--------------------|----------------|--------------|----------|--------------|
| 1917..... | | | | | \$380.65 |
| 1918..... | \$2,415.35 | \$2,810.70 | \$2,863.87 | \$ 53.17 | 327.48 |
| 1919..... | 2,598.30 | 2,962.79 | 3,196.74 | 233.95 | 93.53 |
| 1920..... | 3,172.50 | 3,591.96 | 3,815.90 | 233.94 | -130.41 |
| 1921..... | 3,708.50 | 4,400.73 | 4,617.22 | 216.49 | -346.90 |
| 1922..... | 4,228.72 | 4,903.79 | 5,002.75 | 98.96 | -445.86 |
| 1923*..... | 4,439.45 | 5,097.86 | 4,994.08 | 103.78† | -342.08 |
| 1924*..... | 4,722.40 | 5,516.78 | 5,328.68 | 188.10† | -153.98 |

* The figures for 1923 and 1924 do not include receipts from life memberships nor for the abstract service.

† Surplus.

Your Committee respectfully recommends the consideration by the Executive Committee of the following proposals:

1. That an amendment to the Constitution be submitted to the Annual Meeting of the Society providing for a joint membership for husband and wife with annual dues of \$5. The joint membership entitles the holder to a single subscription to the *Journal* and to one volume of the *Proceedings*.

2. That a spot map be made showing the geographical location of the members provided that the cost does not exceed \$25.

3. That a photograph of the President be included in the next and all succeeding volumes of the *Proceedings*.

Your Committee begs leave to present herewith the third Annual Budget of the American Sociological Society covering the fiscal year ending November 30, 1924.

TENTATIVE BUDGET

of the

American Sociological Society for the Fiscal Year of 1925

(December 1, 1924 to November 30, 1925)

Receipts

| | Estimated Receipts for 1925 | Actual Receipts for 1924 | Actual Receipts for 1923 |
|---|-----------------------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Dues from members | \$4,800.00 | \$4,722.40 | \$4,439.45 |
| Sale of publications | 325.00 | 326.49 | 238.90 |
| Press credit | 350.00 | 350.00 | 350.00 |
| Interest on bonds | 100.00 | 72.00 | 30.00 |
| Interest on certificate of deposit | 20.00 | 26.24 | 15.88 |
| Abstract service | 100.00 | 107.00* | ..... |
| Exchange and postage with remittance and miscellaneous | 20.00 | 19.65 | 23.63 |
| Total receipts | \$5,715.00 | \$5,623.78 | \$5,097.86 |

Expenditures

| | Estimated Expenditures for 1925 | Actual Expenditures for 1924 | Actual Expenditures for 1923 |
|--|---------------------------------------|------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| <i>American Journal of Sociology</i> | \$2,400.00 | \$2,408.66 | \$2,302.80 |
| <i>Proceedings</i> | 1,600.00 | 1,444.00 | 1,526.06 |
| Clerical aid and salaries | 600.00 | 511.03 | 432.85 |
| Postage and express | 300.00 | 295.93 | 247.32 |
| Printing | 300.00 | 290.69 | 189.45 |
| Stationary | 150.00 | 147.90 | 55.05 |
| Secretary's expenses at meetings | 60.00 | 106.43 | 18.43 |
| Society membership A.C.L.S. | 60.00 | ..... | 97.70 |
| Auditing | 10.00 | 10.00 | 10.00 |
| Exchange on dues | 40.00 | 39.30 | 32.50 |
| Refunds on membership | 55.00 | 50.31 | 54.70 |
| Insurance | 3.00 | 2.50 | 2.50 |
| Abstract service | 100.00 | (est.) 100.00* | ..... |
| Miscellaneous expense | 37.00 | 21.93 | 24.72 |
| Total expenditures | \$5,715.00 | \$5,428.68 | \$4,994.08 |

*Receipts and estimated expenditures for abstract service included.

Respectfully submitted,

Finance Committee:

WILLIAM T. CROSS

THOMAS D. ELIOT

M. J. KARPF, *Chairman*

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE MANAGING EDITOR FOR THE
FISCAL YEAR

DECEMBER 1, 1923 TO NOVEMBER 30, 1924

On November 30, the number of different volumes of the *Papers and Proceedings* on hand was as follows:

| Volume | Copies | Volume | Copies |
|------------|----------------|-------------|----------------|
| I | 68 | X | 157 |
| II | o Out of print | XI | o Out of print |
| III | o Out of print | XII | 80 |
| IV | 36 | XIII | o Out of print |
| V | 30 | XIV | 19 |
| VI | o Out of print | XV | 256 |
| VII | 31 | XVI | 153 |
| VIII | 57 | XVII | 151 |
| IX | 19 | XVIII | 305 |

The total number of volumes, 1,352, is 88 more than were reported last year.

Respectfully submitted,

ERNEST W. BURGESS, *Managing Editor*

THE AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

MINUTES OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS, DECEMBER 29, 1924

The meeting was called to order at 5:10 P.M. by President Charles A. Ellwood in Room 126, in the Auditorium Hotel. There were present, in addition to the President and the Secretary, Messrs. Blackmar, Cooley, Dealey, Galpin, Gillette, Gillin, Hayes, Lichtenberger, Ogburn, Park, Snedden, Weatherly, Willcox. (Only six of the twenty-one members of the Committee were absent.) The reading of the minutes of the last meetings was dispensed with, since they are printed in the *Proceedings*.

President Ellwood stated that if there were no objections the first order of business would be the three proposals already submitted by correspondence to the members of the Committee. A motion by Professor Weatherly was passed that the President be authorized to appoint a Committee of three members to consult with representatives of other social sciences and through the Social Science Research Council upon the relation of the American Sociological Society to the American Association for the Advancement of Science, and to report its recommendation to the meeting of the Committee in 1925.

A motion by Professor Blackmar carried providing that a committee of three persons be now appointed to consider the proposal of the election of distinguished foreign sociologists as honorary members of the Society. The president appointed U. G. Weatherly, E. C. Hayes, and J. Q. Dealey.

After some discussion of the relation to the Society of groups and organizations representing special interests, Professor Weatherly made a motion which carried that the President, Secretary, and one representative from each section within the Society and, by invitation, from organizations outside the Society, constitute an advisory committee to formulate a policy for the co-ordinating in the program both the general and special interests of members of the Society, provided that the policy recommended be referred to the Executive Committee for action.

Upon the report of a recommendation by the National Council for Social Studies that each of the social science associations defray the traveling expenses of its representative on the board of directors of the Council, Professor Park made a motion which carried that traveling expenses for this purpose to an amount not to exceed \$50 be authorized.

Professor Hayes presented a communication from Professor Consentini of the International Institute of Sociology and Social Politics of Turin suggesting affiliation with our Society. Professor Dealey's motion was passed referring this

matter to the Committee to consider the election of distinguished foreign sociologists to honorary membership. On motion of Professor Lichtenberger a similar request from Professor Marcel Mauss of the Institute of Sociology of France was referred to the Committee on Resolutions for an expression of felicitation upon the organization of the Institute and to the Committee on Honorary Membership of Foreign Sociologists for a report on the advisability of a plan of relationship.

Moved and carried that telegrams of greeting to Professors Small and Giddings be sent by the Committee on Resolutions.

On motion of Professor Ogburn the proposed amendment of the constitution of the Council of Learned Societies made necessary for the purpose of incorporation was approved.

A motion by Professor Lichtenberger passed that the Resolutions Committee express the appreciation of the Society for the underwriting by the *New York Times* and Mr. Adolph S. Ochs of the authoritative work on American biography undertaken by the National Council of Learned Societies.

The reports of the Secretary and of the Managing Editor for the year ending November 30, 1924, were read and approved. The report of the Finance Committee was read and accepted. Professor Gillette moved the amendment to the constitution recommended by the Finance Committee providing for joint membership in the Society of husband and wife with annual dues of five dollars be approved and referred to the annual business meeting for final action. The motion was carried.

A recommendation by Charles E. Merriam, chairman of the Social-Science Research Council was approved, that action on time and place of the next meeting of the Society be deferred in order to arrange for the selection of a common time and place for all the social-science associations.

Respectfully submitted,

ERNEST W. BURGESS, *Secretary*

MINUTES OF THE BUSINESS MEETING FOR REPORTS OF COMMITTEES, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS, DECEMBER 30, 1924

The meeting was called to order at 9:10 A.M. by President Charles A. Ellwood in the Banquet Hall, Auditorium Hotel. Reports, which are printed elsewhere in the *Proceedings*, were made by the chairmen of the following committees: the Committee on Social Research, W. F. Ogburn; the Committee on Social Abstracts, F. S. Chapin; the Committee on an Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, H. B. Woolston; the Committee on the Classification of Civil Service Positions, J. P. Lichtenberger for Carl Kelsey, chairman. F. S. Chapin made a report of the work during the past year by the Social-Science Research Council, which is printed in full in this volume.

Respectfully submitted,

ERNEST W. BURGESS, *Secretary*

MINUTES OF THE ANNUAL BUSINESS MEETING, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS,
DECEMBER 31, 1924

The meeting was called to order at 9:05 A.M. by President Charles A. Ellwood in the Banquet Hall, the Auditorium Hotel. Since the minutes of the last meeting were printed in the *Proceedings*, their reading was dispensed with. The minutes of the meeting of the Executive Committee were read and approved. On the motion of Professor Gillette, the following amendment to the constitution submitted by the Executive Committee was adopted:

That Article III on membership be amended to include the following section: A joint membership may be taken out by husband and wife upon the payment of an annual fee of five dollars.

The committee appointed by the Executive Committee (U. G. Weatherly, E. C. Hayes, and J. Q. Dealey) to consider the proposal of the election of distinguished foreign sociologists as honorary members of the Society, reporting through its chairman, made the following recommendations:

1. That distinguished foreign sociologists may be elected to honorary membership in the Society.
2. That a special committee of the Executive Committee be appointed to make nominations for each membership.
3. That the Committee heartily concurs in the proposed plan of co-operation with such foreign sociological societies as have a recognized national standing, and such as contain among their membership men of international standing in the science.

The Committee on Resolutions (A. J. Todd, E. S. Bogardus, and W. F. Ogburn) recommended the following resolutions which were adopted:

1. The American Sociological Society expresses its deep appreciation to the Local Arrangements Committee, to the Chicago business men who provided the smoker Monday evening, to the management of the Auditorium Hotel for its many courtesies, to the City Club, the Cordon Club, Hull House, and other Chicago groups for their open-hearted hospitality and entertainment, all of which has contributed to the pleasure and success of our nineteenth annual meeting.
2. The American Sociological Society in its nineteenth annual meeting assembled desires to express its enthusiastic appreciation of the munificence and rare wisdom displayed by Mr. Adolph S. Ochs and the New York Times Company in underwriting to the extent of \$500,000 the authoritative work on American biography projected by the American Council of Learned Societies.
3. The American Sociological Society hereby records its belief that the time has now come when scholars from all countries should participate on equal terms in scientific congresses at which it is invited to be represented. The American Sociological Society is of the opinion that no invitation to participate in a future international congress should be accepted by it unless the rules of the congress allow scholars of all countries to participate on equal terms.
4. The American Sociological Society sends its greetings to, and offers fraternal good wishes for the success of, the newly organized Institut de Sociologie de France.

The Committee on Nominations (E. C. Hayes, F. W. Blackmar, C. H. Cooley, and U. G. Weatherly) placed in nomination for the year 1925: president, Robert E. Park; first vice-president, John L. Gillin; second vice-president, Walter F. Willcox; secretary-treasurer, Ernest W. Burgess; members of the Executive Committee, Emory S. Bogardus, Howard W. Odum, and James E. Cutler. A motion made by Professor Gillette carried that the Secretary be instructed to cast the ballot of the Society for these nominees. Professor Hayes, as chairman of the Nominating Committee, raised the question of whether nominating committees in the future are required to follow the precedent of nominating to the presidency those who have held the offices of first and second vice-president. After some discussion a motion by Professor North carried that it is the sense of the Society that our present method of electing officers is unsatisfactory. A second motion by Professor North was then carried that it is the sense of the Society that nominating committees in the future submit at least two names for every office, without expressing a preference. President Ellwood then called President Park to the chair. Professor Hayes raised the question of the advisability of the re-election of presidents. A motion by Professor Gillette carried that the practice of the renomination of presidents for a second term be not revived.

Respectfully submitted,

ERNEST W. BURGESS, *Secretary*

AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

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